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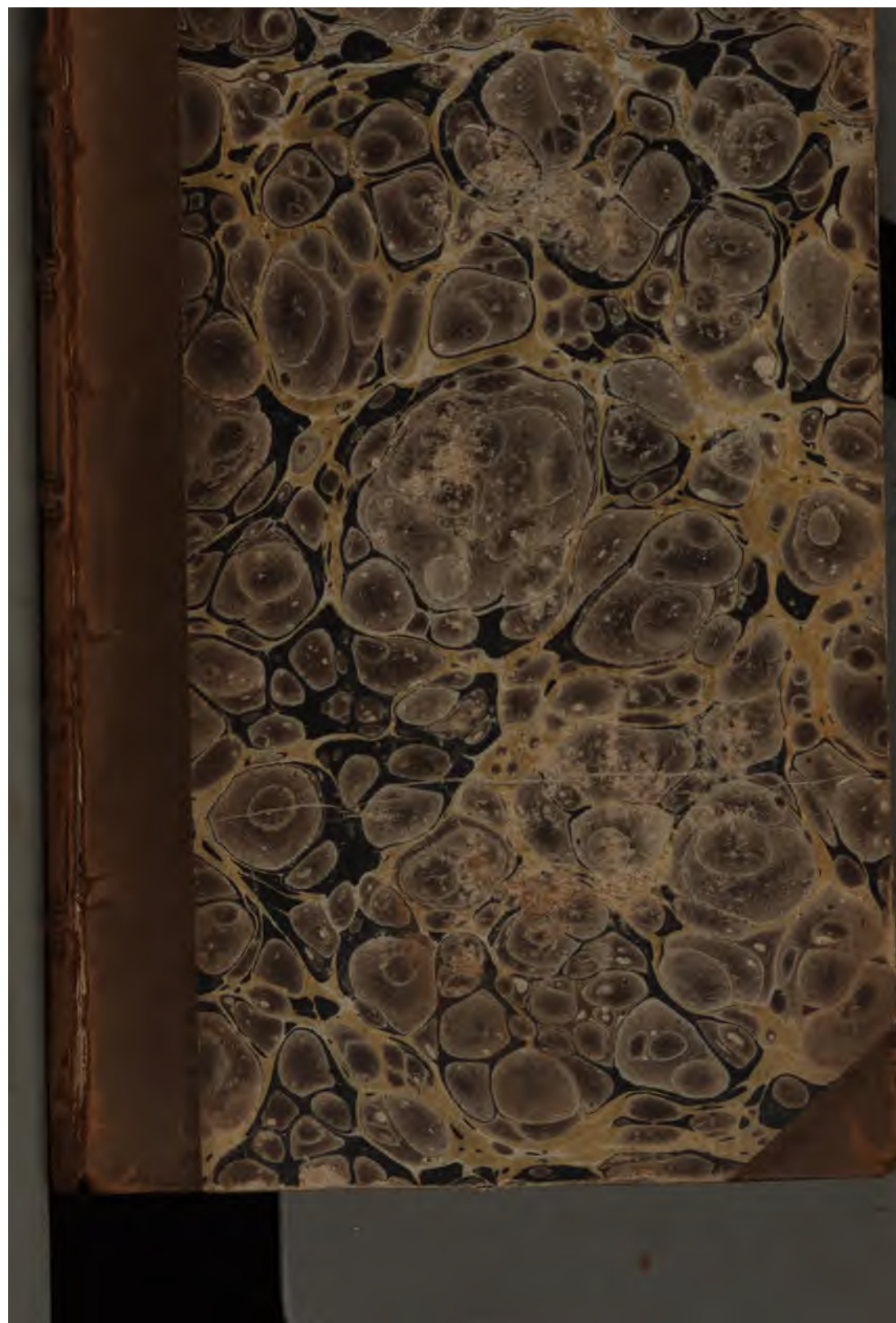
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THE

S. H: 1826

CATHOLIC CLAIMS REJECTED:

BEING

An ANSWER to

The LETTERS of "An ENGLISH CATHOLIC,"

"The REVD. SYDNEY SMITH,"

AND

"Mr. CHARLES BUTLER;" and "THIRTY-TWO THOUSAND"

~~Other Baptsb Productions,~~

RECENTLY CIRCULATED IN THIS KINGDOM.

BY AN ENGLISH PROTESTANT.

"AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM."

"The difference between the two religions is an eternal source of enmity, ill-will, and hatred, and the CATHOLIC remains in a state of PERMANENT DISAFFECTION to the GOVERNMENT under which he lives."

SYDNEY SMITH.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

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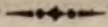
AND SOLD BY J. WOLSTENHOLME AND SON, MINSTER-GATES; ALSO, BY BALDWIN, CRADOCK,
AND JOY, AND MESSRS. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1826.

366.

THE
CATHOLIC CLAIMS REJECTED:

&c.



FELLOW PROTESTANTS, AND FREEHOLDERS OF YORKSHIRE,
AND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM !

A vast number of Publications having recently been addressed to you, containing advice which, in my opinion, would, if followed, be highly detrimental to yourselves, your Country, and the whole United Kingdom, I beg your serious and impartial attention to the following Facts and Observations bearing on the leading topics brought before you in these writings.

Many, indeed, of the Guides whose Directions are offered you, amply supply the antidote with their bane, and are wholly unworthy of notice. Against the ravings of a Maniac, or the disgusting witticisms of unprincipled Buffoonery, your own good sense and honest principles will secure you. Addresses which, on the very face of them, set at defiance all reason, truth, fact, history, and common decorum, cannot fail to stamp indelible disgrace on their Authors, and to gratify a few semi-Infidel and profane Jesters like themselves, but can have little influence on the well-known sound judgment, religious habits, and deep-rooted Protestant feeling of Englishmen. I have placed in the front the "Letter of an English Catholic;" because this Epistle is particularly directed to the Freeholders of the County of York; because, in appearance at least, this Writer addresses us like a Man

of Reason, a Gentleman, and a Christian: because, after the example of Butler, Lingard, and other fashionable Adepts of his school, by presenting to his Readers a partial and insidious picture of the tenets, and history, and circumstances, of *Popery* and its adherents; by denying, or palliating, or keeping wholly out of sight, the enormities connected with this Creed, and greatly exaggerating the presumed merits and grievances of his Catholic Brethren; by misstatement and distortion of facts, disingenuous attempts at recrimination against Protestants; and, above all, by a dexterous use of that most powerful modern engine for sapping, high-sounding professions of liberality, his efforts are adapted to lull apprehension, disarm hostility, stir up sympathy, and mislead the unwary.

If we may credit the cool assertions, specious argumentation, and apparently confident conclusions, of this Theological Politician, *Popery*, when really viewed impartially, is a very *charitable* and *tolerant* system of religion; favorable alike to *civil* and *religious liberty*; and abhorrent of every species of *persecution*: that in times long since past, and which ought to be forgotten, *Individuals* of this communion may have been guilty of this crime, and of other illiberal treatment of Protestants, but that such conduct was never sanctioned by the *Church*, and is universally reprobated by modern Catholics; and, at all events, that Protestants have been equally criminal on this head: that for no just causes, during a long series of years, Roman Catholics in this Kingdom have been deprived of their unquestionable Rights, and grievously injured and calumniated: that the removal of every restriction, and the admission of this large body of Romanists to a full participation of power in the British Parliament would be so far from endangering the interests of our Protestant Church and Constitution, that it would add to their stability: that all apprehensions of the contrary are founded in ignorance, bigotry, and inexcusable selfishness: and, that, therefore, we are called upon to support at the ensuing

General Election, the Advocates of *Catholic Emancipation* by every consideration of justice, and expediency, and right feeling as men and Christians.

Such is the purport of our English Catholic's statements and advice: such the bearing of the Jokes of the Rev. Sydney Smith: such the specious but insidious representations of Mr. C. Butler: and such, in its leading features, is the summary of the argument for Emancipation in every other quarter:—the *very reverse of every part* of which may absolutely be *demonstrated*; if we consider either the *essential nature* of the *Doctrines* of Roman Catholics, or their *uniform Practice* when possessed of power: if there be one particle of truth in *history*: if the *concurring opinions*, and blood, and other sacrifices, of the *venerable Fathers* and *Founders* of our Protestant Establishments, are not wholly unworthy of our notice: if any lessons of wisdom may be deduced from *whole Centuries of past Experience*; or any suitable regard is directed to *present Circumstances*: if *similar causes* will any longer produce *similar effects*: if under the epidemic infatuation of a *spurious liberality*, we do not shut our eyes against Reason, Scripture, History, Experience, the nature of things, and even Common Sense.—*Popery* a *tolerant system* of Religion, and friendly to *liberty*! Spirits of the British Martyrs; Ghosts of St. Bartholomew; Ministers of Grace of the Irish Catholic Association, defend us! *Popery* a religion “more *sinned against*, than *sinning*!” Credat Judæus!—*Catholic Legislators*, who avowedly own a *spiritual*, and therefore, a predominating, *allegiance to the Pope*, improve the stability of a *Protestant Government*! *Popish Guardians*, compatible with the welfare of a *Protestant Church*! a *Church*, which they professedly consider *heretical*, and *excluded from Salvation*: and which, as honest men, it is their bounden Duty to God, and their Country, to use every means in their power to *undermine*, *overthrow*, and *extirpate*. O tempora! O Mores! How can our understandings and principles be more grossly insulted?

“Were a Stranger,” this English Catholic remarks, “who had often heard of the beauty of the British Constitution, to be told” the history and circumstances of British Catholics, and the reasons for the establishment and perpetuation of the Restrictions under which they labour, he would be utterly incredulous, perplexed, and astonished. And well, indeed, he might; if he had no better information on the subject than that given him in this Letter, and the other Publications before us. But how completely would the unvarnished truth set him right; and entirely reverse both his faith and his feelings. Instead of the intelligence afforded him in the smooth yet unfounded phrase, “*various causes*, which it is allowed have now ceased to operate;” let this Stranger be told, that the *Laws of exclusion* complained of, were originally established because such exclusion was found *absolutely essential* to the *public peace*: because the *whole period* during which the Romanists were in possession of *political power* was one *continued series* of *plots, treasons, massacres, burnings, insurrections, and rebellions*; one *continued Papal effort* to annoy and subdue the *Protestants*; which at length became *utterly intolerable*: Put the surprised Stranger in possession of the impartial history of this Country from the Reformation to the Revolution: Let him see how incessantly by hostile proceedings at home, intrigues with the foreign enemy, and the Pope; the introduction of Bulls, Depositions, Anathemas, Indulgencies, and Preachers of Sedition, from the pretended universal Head of the Church, these Romanists agitated the Kingdom, and assailed its Protestant Institutions: Shew him this part of our history in its genuine colors: and he will admit, if he be a man of reason and religion, that the Laws of exclusion had not only become *indispensable* on the principle of *self-preservation*, but were founded both in wisdom and mercy.

Then let our Stranger be informed, that although there is now no Popish Pretender to the Throne, and some other circumstances may have changed, yet, as by the Bill of

Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Oath of Coronation, and the Acts for the Union of England and Scotland, and of England and Ireland, the British Constitution is recognized as *essentially and inviolably Protestant*; and is *essentially* connected with our *Protestant Church*; the Opponents of Emancipation see the grossest absurdity, and the most imminent peril, in a project that would furnish his Majesty and the Country with *Popish Advisers and Legislators*: because, as these Romanists avowedly adhere to the distinguishing tenets of their Church; and still, as formerly, refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy, the security of undivided Allegiance to the Sovereign which is given by his other accredited Servants, they would still, doubtless, as honest men, consider it their duty to exercise power for the advancement of their own religious system, and the disturbance, or humiliation, or overthrow of Protestantism: and because *no obligations can possibly be imposed on conscientious Catholics stronger than those by which they are already bound, at every opportunity afforded them, to advance the cause of Popery*: because, also in point of fact, while the disqualifying Statutes remained in full force, peace was secured for upwards of a century; while the moment of their relaxation in 1793 proved the prelude, in one part of the empire, to renewed Rebellion; and, generally, to a series of agitation, menaces, and increased demands, which continue to this day.

By this time, our enquiring Stranger will perceive, that the "causes" for the Exclusion of Romanists from political power, are by no means "*allowed to have now ceased to operate*:" and that neither, as the English Catholic also informs him, "*is this exclusion perpetuated because men continue to profess a religion, differing in some points, from the established religion of the state, though their religion be that, which*" otherwise is entitled to high commendation. The exclusion is perpetuated, he must rather be told, because the objects of it "*continue to profess a religion*" against the characteristic features of which, the established religion of

the state, founded by the blood of our venerable army of Martyrs, is an avowed and a standing *Protest*: a religion which teaches them, that this established religion of the state, is a *ruinous heresy*, which it is their bounden duty to seek to *extirpate*, all its Adherents being *excluded* from *Salvation*: for which, therefore, they cannot but entertain an incurable hatred; and towards which, in their treatment of Protestants at all times, when possessed of power, this hatred has been displayed in practice: a religion which, if all history be not a fable, when really enjoying unrestricted privileges, exalted itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; hurled princes from their thrones; released subjects from their allegiance; deluged Europe with blood; withheld from its votaries the word of life; and was the occasion of mischief and misery, atrocities and cruelties, which are now sometimes not credited, only because they appear to exceed all credit; and at the bare reference to which the heart sickens and recoils in disgust: a religion which a very learned and candid modern writer has summarily characterized, a “heterogeneous compound of hypocrisy and superstition, of idolatry and blasphemy.”

It is true, as an English Catholic states, that the religion which his Catholic Brethren now profess, is “that, which by a *long tradition* they received from their ancestors:” and this is one reason for our rejecting it: because some of its distinguishing features, in which it most differs from Protestantism, are founded on the erring tradition of men, rather than the infallible word of God. It is true also, that this is the “religion which for *ages*” was extensively prevalent in Europe: but these were notoriously, and even proverbially, *ages of darkness, wickedness, imposture, and cruelty*. When, however, our Rev. Apologist for Popery confounds it with primitive Christianity, and tells us, in so many words, that “for the first *fourteen centuries* all the Christian world were Catholics;” he betrays either consummate ignorance or dishonesty, or both: more than *seven* of

these fourteen centuries having elapsed before Popery, in the character now objected against, was established; and many Christians, at all times, having rejected the Papal yoke.—(See Mosheim, Milner, &c., Cent. 8.)—Do great professions of liberality atone for the palpable violation of truth and common honesty?

It is further true, that in the days of our Ancestors of the Romish Church, “the basis was laid” of some of our valuable civil privileges. The exactions of Tyranny, it appears, may exceed the endurance of Englishmen of whatever Creed. The quarrels of King John with his Barons and the Pope, happily led to the Convention at Runnymede, and the attainment of *Magna Charta*. This circumstance, however, affords little proof, that these rebellious Popish Barons would have made good Members of the free *Protestant Government* established in this kingdom at the Revolution. On the contrary, as far as *Popery* is concerned, never, surely, was any reference more unfortunate than this of our English Catholic to the transactions of the above reign. Let him also print the information in LARGE CAPITALS, for the benefit of Yorkshire and all other Freeholders, to what a deplorable state of degradation, perplexity, and suffering, this ill-fated King of England, and this whole kingdom, were now reduced, through the ambitious projects, and subtile interference, of Pope Innocent the third. See, Brother Protestants, this Spiritual Head of the Church, under the most hypocritical pretences; continually fomenting discord between the King and his Subjects, and availing himself of this domestic dissention, and the aid of our foreign enemy, to forward his own unhallowed purposes: See, “for a very slight cause,” says Rapin, “this King excommunicated, and deposed; his Subjects absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and even forbidden to obey him; the whole Kingdom under an Interdict; the King of France, to whom, together with the remission of all his Sins, this kingdom is given as a perpetual inheritance, called upon to execute the sentence;

and all Christian Princes and People exhorted to aid his efforts, with the promised rewards of Crusaders. See, after placing him between the imminent perils of an immediate French invasion, and the revolt of his own subjects, (both aggravated as well as created by the Pope himself) and offering him his fatherly and merciful protection, what an act of degradation this insolent Servant of Servants extorts from him, in the following extraordinary Oath; taken before all the people, kneeling upon his knees, with his hands between those of the Pope's Legate: "I, John by the grace of God, King of England, and Lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free-will, and the advice of my Barons, give to the Church of Rome, to Pope Innocent and his successors, the Kingdom of England and all other prerogatives of my crown: I will hereafter hold them as the Pope's Vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the Church of Rome, and to the Pope my Master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of a thousand Marks yearly, to wit, seven hundred for the Kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland."

See the Legate, to shew the grandeur of his Master, spurn with his foot the money offered him by the King as an earnest of his subjection; and this professedly common Father of all Christians extorting a repetition of this shameful act of humiliation and injustice: See him afterwards absolving the King from his Oath in regard to *Magna Charta*, and another Charter of Liberty; excommunicating the Barons, and driving them to such extremities of distress, that they, in their turn, offer the kingdom to France, and actually swear fealty to Lewis, the King of France's Son:—See, in short, this successor of St. Peter, in turns, binding and loosing, excommunicating and absolving, opposing and aiding, menacing and courting, one party or the other, just as best suited the purposes of his Court, and Minions, and his own ambition. Meanwhile, see the deplorable effects of this purely *spiritual* jurisdiction on the Nation at large: the King in the

wretched condition which has been specified : the Kingdom *three times* given away for the sake of protection, once to the Pope, and twice to France, in the course of eleven years : the people in actual Rebellion : a suspension of religious worship, and all ecclesiastical functions ; not only the Churches, but the very Church-yards shut up, and the bodies of the dead thrown into Ditches like those of Dogs, no Priest daring or being willing to assist at the Funerals : and the whole Country laid waste by foreign armies. "Never," says Rapin, "was England in so deplorable a condition : she had two armies of hungry foreigners in her bowels, ravaging the Country in a merciless manner." To the same effect, after depicting a former stage of this tragedy, this faithful Historian remarks, "Such was the wretched state of the people of England : Those that were faithful to their Sovereign fell under the Pope's censures, and the King took care to persecute those who submitted to the orders of Rome."

Such then is *Popery*, when in *possession of Power* : and such were its direful effects in this kingdom in the days of King John. Yet, to this period of our history we are triumphantly referred for inducements to re-invest it with power in this Country at the present day ! The Advocates of this measure must, surely, either be under an awful infatuation themselves ; or believe, that the good people of England have lost both the use of their reason, and all recollections of their history. In the above historical facts, and they are a bare sample furnished by their own allusion, we see the *curse of serving two Masters*, and the undoubted exercise of those *absolving, dispensing, domineering, persecuting, deposing*, and other *disturbing powers*, by the Church of Rome, which these Advocates would persuade us are the mere bug-bears of ignorance and prejudice. And yet, in its general spirit and outline, *this is only a faint specimen* of the tyrannical and mischievous behaviour of the Romish Church towards both Foreign and English Princes and civil Governments for many Centuries : it is *justice and moderation* compared with the uniform con-

duct of this Church, when in power, towards every *Protestant Government and People* after the Reformation: it is *exemplary Christian Charity* compared with its jesuitical, seditious, treasonable, rebellious procedure, in the days of our Queens Mary and Elizabeth, and those of the first and second James.

The *particular Topics*, connected with this branch of the controversy, on which the Advocates of Emancipation most dwell, relate to the proper *Standards of Popery*; the *powers of the Pope, and Romish Church*; the subject of *Catholic Oaths*; and their *opinion and treatment of Heretics*.—It is on all sides admitted to be of importance, to distinguish between the opinions of *Individuals* and those of their *Church*. But, where there is an acknowledged *authoritative written Standard* of orthodoxy, all difficulties in ascertaining the characteristic tenets of any Church, with honest minds, are removed. Now, the acknowledged Standards of the faith and discipline of the Church of Rome are the *Sacred Canons and Decrees of General Councils*, and the *decisions of the Pope*. Mr. Butler, the accredited modern Champion of the Catholics, submits to the Protestant Public, as an “*accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith*” the *Creed of Pope Pius IV*: in which is contained the following article: “I also profess, and *undoubtedly* receive, *all other things* delivered, defined, and declared, by the *Sacred Canons and general Councils*; particularly by the *Holy Council of Trent*; and I likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize, all things contrary thereto.” These sacred Canons, and general Councils are maintained to be *infallible and unchangeable*. “It would be a pernicious heresy,” the Basil Council affirms, “to admit, that a *general Council can err*; and it would be a *blasphemy* to assert, that Canons and Decrees of general Councils are not dictated by the *Holy Ghost*.” Mr. Plowden, a highly esteemed modern Catholic Author, says; “True Councils represent the whole Church, and are *certainly infallible*.” Dr. Milner, a modern Catholic Bishop, adds; “You may as well pretend to pluck a beam from the Sun as to

touch a fibre of *ecclesiastical jurisdiction*." And, That *general Councils* are *infallible*, is a point on which Dr. Troy, a Catholic Archbishop, assures us, *all Catholics are agreed*: and observes, "The religious opinions of Roman Catholics, being *unchangeable*, are applicable to all times." To this *Standard* accordingly, namely, this Creed of Pope Pius, and these Documents included in it, as it is here also prescribed they must be, *every Roman Catholic Bishop and Priest* is *solemnly pledged* to adhere.

Take, then, a further Extract from the *Profession of faith*, and the *Oaths* connected with it.—After a full recognition of Ecclesiastical Traditions; the Church's sense of Scripture; the propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass; transubstantiation; purgatory; invocation of Saints; veneration of Relicks, and of images; the power of Indulgences; and other leading tenets, objected against by Protestants, the Romish Confessor proceeds:—"I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Rome, to be the *Mother and Mistress* of all Churches: and I promise and *swear true obedience* to the *Roman Pontiff*, Successor of the Prince of the Apostles St. Peter, and the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ. Further, I do, without doubt, receive and profess *all things*, which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons, and œcumenical Councils, especially by the holy Council of Trent; and all things contrary thereto, and *all heresies of whatever kind*, which have been *condemned, rejected, and anathematized* by the Church, I in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize. This true Catholic Faith, *out of which no one can be saved*, which by these presents I profess and verily hold, I, N. N. do promise, vow, and swear, most firmly to keep, and confess (by God's help) entire and inviolate, to the last breath of my life; and that I will take care, as far as in me lies, that the same be holden, kept, and preached by all, who are subject to my control, or who are connected with my Charge. So help me God, and these the holy Gospels of God."

In the Episcopal Consecration Oath, there are also the following stipulations: "I from this time forward, will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, the holy Church of Rome, and my Lord the Pope, and his lawful successors. The Counsels with which they entrust me, I will not disclose to any man, to their hurt. I will assist them to retain and defend the Poppedom and Regalia of St. Peter, salvo meo ordine, against all men. I will carefully preserve, defend, and promote the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the holy Romish Church, and the Pope. I will not be in any counsel, deed, or treaty, in which any thing is contrived prejudicial to this Church, or to the person, rights, honor, or power of the Pope; and if I shall know any such matters treated of, by any persons whomsoever, I will, to the utmost of my power, hinder them; and, with all possible speed, signify them to the Pope. I will, with all my powers, totis viribus, observe the rules, decrees, ordinances, reservations, and Apostolic commands, of the Holy Fathers, and make others observe them." &c. &c.

But, such being the unquestionable facts, the evidence of these Roman Catholic Bishops before the British Parliament, or elsewhere, when inconsistent with this Standard, is utterly unworthy of regard. What should we think of a body of Witnesses in a Court of Justice, who, in order to carry their cause, either by dexterous evasion or positive assertion, palpably contradict the obvious purport, and spirit, and even letter, of what we know they *have previously sworn*? What can we think of the Advocates of Divines circumstanced as these Prelates are, who would insinuate, that beyond a little "routine business," they have no very important connexion with the Pope: and who represent their bare Declaration of "*Not Guilty*," as a *triumphant acquittal*? Treating on this precise subject of the professional Vows of the Romish Clergy, our great Bishop Jewell long ago remarked, "*They are bound to the Pope by OATH AND RELIGION: so that although they should understand the truth, they cannot with-*

out perjury make profession of it, and are necessitated to break faith, either with God or Man." Let only the *fact* on this point be duly considered: let it at the same time be considered, that as the Pope makes the Bishops, so the Bishops make the Priests; and what an intimate and indissoluble connexion subsists between this Priesthood and the truly Catholic laity, their own Ministers only being thought by them worthy to open the Seals of the Book of Scripture, and possessed of the Keys of Christ's Kingdom; and assuredly, we shall not entrust the management of our holy religion and all that is dear to us, into such hands.

For the same obvious reason, neither the opinions of foreign Universities, nor of distinguished British Senators, nor even those of that "first Table Politician" the Rev. Sydney Smith, should in anywise move us. The *first*, if strictly genuine, of which there is much doubt, are the extorted Concessions of Popery in distress: the *second* emanate from those, who, busily occupied in other high matters, have not taken the trouble to understand the subject; or, who attach too little importance to men's *religious* opinions whether right or mistaken ones: and the *third* are a gross violation of this Protestant Clergyman's own most solemn Professional Vows; and are pregnant with disgust rather than conviction. At all events, these are only the opinions of *Individuals*; and not, Mr. Butler himself being Judge, the authoritative Standard; the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, by which the faith of the Romish Church can be ascertained: which last remark, is also applicable to the Declarations of "*Catholic Boards*," and numberless other modern *Papal Statements*, which, being grounded upon an assumed power that no private members of the Church of Rome possess, are altogether a fallacy, and only adapted to serve a purpose by misleading the British Public.

But these *Sacred Canons* and *Decrees of General Councils*, as well as the above named Creed and Oaths; these notable parts of the allowedly "*accurate and explicit summary*" of

modern Popery, the Creed of Pope Pius IV; these *infallible unchangeable Documents*, to which the whole body of the Romish Clergy are bound to adhere; and by which *only* some of their most zealous friends before the Parliamentary Committee wished their principles to be tried; these very Documents unquestionably contain the tenets against which Anti-Emanicipation Protestants most object; and at the mention of which, by Politicians of the Second Table, the Revd. Sydney Smith, and his Papal Clients, are thrown into such extreme commotion.

In regard to the presumed objectionable *Power and Domination of the Pope and Romish Church*, the language of the above Confession and Oaths is certainly as strong and decisive in support of this domination as it is well possible to make it. A Divine of the Church of England can scarcely be ignorant, that there *may* be cases in which "the sins of the Fathers, even for many generations, are justly visited upon the Children," and the enormities of a Community on less guilty members of it; but, in sober truth, notwithstanding the ridiculous Rhodomontade of the Rector of Foston, about "confounding time, and place, and persons, and space, and identity, and the guilty, and the innocent," a *chief reason* why Romanists in this Kingdom, at this day, are excluded from Offices of Political trust and power, is *THEIR OWN PERSONAL ACT*; because they REFUSE TO TAKE THE BRITISH OATH OF SUPREMACY, and acknowledge the universal Ecclesiastical SUPREMACY OF THE POPE: and can, therefore, at the best, only offer unto his Majesty a *divided Allegiance*. Let "Mr. Murphy and his Son" renounce this foreign Subjection, and "do what is lawful and right" *themselves*, and the iniquity of their *Ancestors* shall not be mentioned, but the old Gentleman become Mayor of Limerick, and the Son the Lord Chancellor of England, as speedily as their respective other merits can advance them.

The inference, however, from the above premises, in respect to divided Allegiance, modern Romanists deny, and set

themselves strenuously to combat. The acknowledged Supremacy of the Pope, they contend is *purely Spiritual*; and does not, therefore, at all interfere with their Allegiance to their temporal Sovereign. But, no such restriction is observable in the above-noticed solemn Stipulations of their Spiritual Guides: No such restriction has been observed in *practice* in the Papal exercise of this Right, whenever it was possible to exceed it. No such restriction, for instance, was observed with respect to this Kingdom, in the detestable interferences of Innocent the third and Pius the Vth, in the cases of our John and Elizabeth. The English Barons contended, that Innocent's was only a *Spiritual* power; and which, therefore, he unjustly exceeded: but this was no alleviation of the wretchedness to which his behaviour had contributed to reduce them: No such restriction of the Papal authority is observable in the contests it occasioned between Popes and Princes and Emperors and other Opponents, which, for many centuries, render the history of Christendom almost one continued narrative of tumult, stratagem, and bloodshed.

But, admitting, if our English Catholic, and other Advocates of Emancipation, will so have it, that these were all instances of the *abuse* of power by the *Infallible* Heads of the Romish Church; what, I ask, is to prevent a repetition of such abuse, if we are weak enough to re-invest power in such hands? Who, as that tried Pillar of the British Constitution, Lord Eldon, enquires, can draw the line of demarcation between a "*jurisdiction merely spiritual*" and one that is temporal? With all becoming modesty, we must tell even Romish Archbishops and their Revd. Protestant Associates, who represent the duties belonging to these *two powers* "*by two parallel Lines, which can never meet,*" or interfere with each other; that they are as *bad Divines* as they are *dangerous Politicians*. A position founded on the assumption that our *religious* and *civil* Duties are *wholly unconnected*, is an error so glaring, that a Child acquainted with the Holy Scrip-

tures may refute it. "The *fear of God*" is the Christian's *grand motive* in "*honoring the King*." He "submits to every Ordinance of Man, for the *Lord's sake*." Religion is the *soul* and *animating principle*, of which his loyalty, among other enjoined Virtues, is the body and outward expression.

Affirm, therefore, equivocate, swear, or turn indignant, as they may, not only is the allegiance of the Romanist to his temporal Sovereign, at the best, necessarily a *divided Allegiance*; because *half* is not equal to the *whole*: but, while "*no Man can serve two Masters*," whose interests are so *diametrically opposite*, as those of the *Pope of Rome* and a *Protestant King*; and while this hostile Power has the command of his religious feelings, his *main springs* of action, no dependence whatever can be placed on his loyalty: because in every case of emergency, when *spiritual* and *temporal* interests appear to clash, the sincere Religionist must suffer *spiritual* considerations to *prevail*: because all other inconveniences or sufferings must appear tolerable to him, compared with the thunders of the Vatican, and the displeasure of those, who possessing the Keys of Heaven and Hell, can subject him not only to present infamy but eternal torments. Persons therefore, thus circumstanced, must be wholly disqualified for holding offices of trust under a Protestant Government.

Nor is any just objection to this reasoning established by what is said of *other Countries*. In America they are trying the experiment of a Government without a Religious Establishment. But even here "the Senators, and Representatives, and other Public Officers, are bound by *Oath* or *Affirmation* to support," not *one part* only, but the *whole* of "*the Constitution*:" all the Laws of the Legislature. So far, therefore, the practice of *America* makes against the Admission of those Persons to Offices of trust who refuse such Security. And, for the *rest*, it can only be pleaded by those who avowedly wish to overturn our *Established Church*. And, whoever, with the feelings of sincere Christians and

genuine Philanthropists, seriously considers the actual state of Religion and Morals in France, and Spain, and the other Continental Nations, at this moment, as they are depicted by the Revd. Blanco White, and other Writers of unimpeachable credit, will not send us thither for examples of imitation and improvement. The Revd. S. Smith, with characteristic inconsistency, in another part of his Letter, prohibits our reference to the state of religion in these Countries. With all our faults and mistakes, there is no question but that all classes of men in this Kingdom, Protestants and Romanists, are as superior to these Nations in purity, and the exercise of genuine Christian charity, as we are in the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty. Nor, must the remark be omitted, that many practices may be nearly innocuous under arbitrary Governments, which would be highly dangerous in a free Constitution like that of this Country: nor the fact, which completely lays the objection in the dust, that these latter are all *Catholic Governments*.

But, "*why*", it is flippantly asked, "is not a *Catholic to be believed on his Oath*?" If I should answer, because he is believed to be an *honest man*: the Assertion would have more truth in it, and much less of falsehood, than that of either which is insinuated in this question. Speaking generally, and with reference to their ordinary transactions in Society, the honor and integrity of Catholics are no more suspected than those of Protestants. This Mr. Sydney Smith well knows. All, therefore, that is so "horrible" on this branch of the subject, which he conjures up, and occupies so many pages in deploring, are the mere Phantoms of his own imagination; and adapted only to deceive and mislead his Readers. The *Oaths*, which it is maintained Catholics could not be depended on to fulfil, are those *only* which relate to the interests of their *Church* and *Religion*, when such fulfilment would be *detrimental* to these interests; those which respect their treatment of *Heretics*, when, in some manner, bearing on this *point*; or those which the Advocates of Emancipation would

absurdly impose on them, as *Securities* for their not exercising Power to the *disturbance or detriment* of *Protestantism*, but sincerely engaging to study the interests, and seek the perpetuation, of our *Protestant Church and Constitution*.

With reference to *these* particulars, my Answer to Mr. S. Smith's Question is the following: Because in the Standard Documents of their religious Creed, these Catholics are taught, that, under certain circumstances, the acknowledged Head of their Church, the Pope, can "*absolve* them from the *obligation of their Oaths*;" that "all engagements entered into with heretics, though sanctioned by *Oath*, are *nullities* in themselves;" and, that "*no faith* is to be kept with *heretics* to the prejudice of the Catholic faith:"—because, in point of fact, in numberless instances, both in ancient and modern times, Catholics have been thus *absolved from their Oaths*, and, to the great annoyance of mankind, acted as if no such Oaths had existed:—because the conduct toward Protestants to which certain proposed Oaths are intended to bind them, would be a *palpable violation of the duty* to which their spiritual Guides are bound themselves, and bound to enforce on their flocks, by the most *solemn previous Oaths*:—because the fulfilment of any such Oaths would be *absolutely impossible in the nature of things*, if they continued Catholics:—because the idea of their seriously taking and observing such Oaths, is ridiculed as infinitely Quixotic and absurd, by leading Writers of their own:—and, because the Revd. Sydney Smith informs us, that although, at this moment, the Irish Catholics have *sworn*, and *would swear*, all that heart can wish, "*not to destroy or plot* against the Irish Protestant Church;" yet, that those Protestants who live among them find it necessary, to "*sleep in sheet-iron night caps*;" to have their "*shutters bullet proof*;" and their "*dinner-table regularly spread with knife, fork, and cocked pistol; salt-cellar and powder-flask*:" and have "*often nobly fought* them before their scullery door."—This may be *sport* to him, but it is too often *Death* to them.

My limits only forbid me here enlarging in proof to absolute demonstration. The first clause of this answer is the unequivocal doctrine of the fourth great Lateran Council, whose Decrees were confirmed by the subsequent general Councils of Basil, Constance, and Trent ; and also *practically* illustrated on this point, by that of Constance, in the shameful treatment of Huss and Jerome. This doctrine was *practically* acted upon by the Roman Pontiffs, both with regard to the people of this Kingdom and of other Nations, in the instances alluded to above : It was, more recently, acted upon by *Pope Pius the 7th*, in sanctioning the Usurpations of *Bonaparte* ; a conduct explicitly vindicated by the *Catholic Bishops* : It was extensively acted upon by the *Irish Catholics* in 1798, after recently having renewed their Oath of Allegiance. There was also some very dishonorable shuffling and tergiversation by *Dr. Milner*, and other distinguished Romanists, on the subject of the *Veto* : And, who can vindicate the behaviour of the *English Roman Catholics* in regard to their memorable *Declaration* and *Protestation* in 1789, and 1791 ? Who would place the smallest political confidence in a body of men whose *deliberate*, and *most solemn public Declarations*, and *Protestations*, can be thus *recanted* on the interference of their Bishops ?—*The solemn engagements* of the Catholic Clergy to *do their uttermost* to forward the interests of the *Pope and Popery*, and to “ extirpate heresy,” we have seen in the Creed of *Pius 4th*, and the Episcopal Oath :—*The impossibility* of their fulfilling at the same time *Oaths* binding them not to seek “ *directly or indirectly the injury of Protestantism, or the subversion of the Protestant Church,*” is obvious on the face of it : it would not only prohibit every Professional exertion ; but, in the language of *Dr. Dromgoole*, “ *wage war with the virtues* ; proscribe even the virtues and morality of the Catholic Priesthood.”—And, in the Letters of Catholic Dignitaries, Books prepared for the use of students at Maynooth College, and numberless other mo-

dern Romish Productions, language is contained fully illustrative of the same Doctrine.

But, does not the circumstance of these Romanists remaining so long *excluded from Offices* which they earnestly covet, rather than comply with the *qualifying Oath*, prove incontrovertably their proper respect for this species of obligation ; and their persuasion, that no Power on Earth can absolve them from it ? Such is the triumphant appeal of an English Catholic, Mr. C. Butler, the English Catholic Board, the Revd. Sydney Smith ; and, perhaps, of nearly every other Advocate of Emancipation in the United Kingdom. And yet, what is it but a triumphant Deception ? All these Persons know, or ought to know, that the acknowledgment of the *Supremacy of the Pope* is an *essential article of the Catholic Faith* ; which, according to their Ritual, can neither be altered nor *abjured*, without the *abjuration* of the *whole of Catholicism* : and that, therefore, whoever should *disclaim this doctrine*, by taking the *Oath of Supremacy* prescribed as the necessary qualification for Office by the British Government, *would cease to be a Catholic*. All the merit of this far-famed argument in their favor, therefore, consists in these Romanists not doing what, according to a fundamental principle of their Religion, is *impossible*.

On the whole, all the *Securities from Catholic Oaths*, of which we hear so much, amount to just nothing at all. All *honest Catholics* must find themselves bound by *previous Obligations* paramount to all others, to employ every means in their power for the advancement of their own system, and the ruin of ours : and can we be so infatuated as to place our whole dependance on the presumed right conduct of *Hypocrites* and *Knaves* ?—Speaking of our Established Church, and the absurdity of the *Securities* contemplated in these Oaths, “ Shall Catholics,” Dr. Dromgoole asks, “ be called by the sacred bond of an *Oath*, to uphold a *system* which they believe will be one day rejected by the whole Earth ?”

But I have to notice a little more particularly the *opinion which these Catholics entertain of Protestants, and their treatment of them as Heretics*.—Their uncharitable doctrine of *exclusive Salvation* is explicitly taught in the Extract I have already quoted from the Creed of Pius 4th.—It is most explicitly taught from the Pontifical Chair, and in a Spirit worthy of *any* times, all Protestants being here classed with Libertines and Infidels, by the *present* Holy Father Pope Leo the twelfth, in a “Circular Letter to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops,” in 1824; and in a “Bull of Jubilee, for the year 1825.” After a course of pretended reasoning, and virulent abuse of *Heretics*, and their “impiety of doting,” of exercising “their own private judgment in the business of Religion, without endangering their Salvation;” meaning, beyond all question, by *Heretics all* professed Christians who are not *Papists*; and by the *Church* the *Romish Church*; this Holy Father concludes: “Wherefore, we also openly profess, *that out of the Church is no Salvation*.”—In the second precious Document, after mourning over those who are “*still separated from the true Church of Christ, and from the way of Salvation*,” his Holiness pathetically entreats, that, “every snare of division being removed,” such persons “may heartily coincide in sentiment with this Church, which is the Mother and Governess of all, and *out of which there is no Salvation*.”—Nor do the modern Disciples differ from their Lord: This doctrine is also *explicitly taught* by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland; and other of the highest modern Catholic Authorities: It is explicitly taught in general Catechisms, Pastoral Instructions, Annotations on the Bible, and every other Document of the Papal Priesthood bearing on the subject, which is really entitled to credit. And, that this mean opinion of Protestants, and Protestantism, extends immediately to ourselves, we learn from the celebrated Speech of Dr. Dromgoole recently delivered in, and highly applauded by, the Catholic Committee in Ireland: Referring expressly to “*the Church of England*,”

this admired Orator proclaims ; “ *It shall fall, for it is human, and liable to force, to accident, and to decay : IT SHALL FALL, AND NOTHING BUT THE MEMORY OF THE MISCHIEFS IT HAS CREATED SHALL SURVIVE. Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it ; it has had its time upon the Earth ; a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY.* ” So, in the Annotations to the Romish authorized Translation of the Holy Scriptures, recently sanctioned by Dr. Troy, amidst a mass of charges to the same effect, as disparaging as language can make them, it is expressly stated : “ The new pretended *Church service of England* is in *Schism* and heresy ; and, therefore, not only *unprofitable* but *DAMNABLE.* ”

What complete humbug, then, are the confident assertions, and solemn Declarations, we incessantly hear, from themselves, and their Advocates, respecting the undoubted *liberality* of modern Romanists ; and their *brotherly affection* for their Protestant fellow-Christians ! This boasted liberality, it appears, consists in their believing *all persons*, except themselves, to be in the broad road to perdition ! And can, then, any conscientious Catholic entertaining this opinion, engage not to forward the cause of his religion by every means he may possess ? Or, can we wonder, if, when other expedients fail, and force is within their reach, the Governors of such a Church should attempt to *compel* men into its fold ; or otherwise treat them, as enemies of God and goodness, with little ceremony ?—It is a wretched Apology for this most uncharitable system, that there is something exclusive in a certain Creed adopted by Protestants. The one, in the spirit, and nearly in the language, of Holy Writ, insists on the necessity of *faith* in a certain *Doctrine*, which members of the Establishment hold in common with the Romanists themselves, and a great majority of Protestant Dissenters ; the other, without any scriptural authority whatever, confines Salvation within the Pale of one *outward Church*.

We are not, however, left to collect by dubious inference what kind of treatment Romanists think due to Protestants.

Every thing, as we here see, being *damnable heresy* which is not *Popery*, all Protestants are necessarily “*condemned, rejected, and anathematized*,” in the above mentioned Creed of Pius 4th: “*All things*” contained in which the Romish Clergy *solemnly swear*, that “without doubt” they receive; and, by God’s help, will keep entire and inviolate, to the last breath of their lives; and with all their powers, enforce on their flocks. In the fourth General Council of Lateran, already noticed, and the succeeding General Councils of Basil, Constance, and Trent, every part of all which is in this Creed recognized, and thus solemnly adopted, the Doctrines of *breaking faith with; condemning, persecuting, anathematizing, and endeavouring to suppress and extirpate*, all obstinate heretics; and of *excommunicating and deposing* temporal Lords, who will not render their aid in the pious work, are unequivocally inculcated.—Nor, with respect to the effects of these Doctrines, does it at all signify, what are the distinctions of Jesuits and Casuists, whether some of them are *points of Faith* or *canons of Discipline*; both remaining undoubtedly binding till rescinded by proper Authority: which, in this case, cannot even be pretended to have been done.—Neither should we regard the recent omission of the Clause, “*Hæreticos, Schismaticos, . . . pro posse persequar et impugnabo*,” in the Episcopal Oath, by the Irish Prelates; the general tenor and spirit of the Document remaining precisely as before; and, according to these Prelates themselves, the motives for this omission being purely those of Papal *expediency*.

It is here highly worthy of remark, that the first of these General Councils, the 4th of Lateran, the 3rd Canon of which is so emphatically explicit on this subject of persecution; and which, therefore, modern Romanists so labour apparently to disparage, or gloss over, was holden for the express purpose of *suppressing the heresy* of those first distinguished virtuous *Protesters* against Romish errors, the *Albigenses*: and, that their Decrees are justified on the *principle of necessity*. “If genuine,” speaking of this 3rd

Canon, the Catholic Archbishop Dr. Murray says, "we must remember that it regards practices of a nature so horrid, that *Society it was thought should, for its own preservation, endeavour to put them down.*"—This is strictly in conformity with the well-known *ultima ratio Papæ*; the power exercised at all times by the Pope, in *extreme cases*, of setting aside every human obligation and engagement standing in the way of his projects. And, they who can calmly represent our *Elizabeth* as a *Monster*, and *Mary* as an *Angel*; and who assail, with all their virulence, the two distinguished eras of our history, marked by the *Reformation* and the *Revolution*; to the one of which we are indebted for our *religious*, and to the other for our *civil Liberty*; will not, if re-invested with the Sword of power, long want an *extreme case*.

I will only add on this head, that in the *Notes on the Bible* at this day read and circulated by Romanists, the Douay Bible, with the Rheims Testament, already noticed, the Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Character of Protestants, are reviled in the strongest language, and under the most degrading epithets, which hostile ingenuity can supply. Their *Church* is a "*a den of thieves, being a den of the Ministers of Calvin's Breed*:" Their *Preaching* is "*heresy and blasphemy*;" and compared to the "*acknowledgment of the Son of God by the Devil*:" Their "*Prayer and Service*" is "*no better than the howling of Wolves*:" "*The Translators of their Bible ought to be abhorred to the depth of hell.*" "*Let our Protestants,*" it is said after one of these Comments, "*behold themselves in this glass, and withal let them mark all other properties that old heretics ever had, and they shall find all definitions and marks of an heretic to fall on themselves.*" "*Christian people should have great zeal against heretics, and hate them, that is (their wicked doctrines, and conditions,) even as God hateth them.* They (the Popish Bishops) should be *stout against false prophets and heretics of what sort soever, remembering the example of Elias, that in zeal killed four*

hundred and fifty false prophets.—When Rome puts heretics to death, their blood is not called the *blood of Saints*, any more than the blood of *thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors*, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer." &c. &c. &c. (See Acts x, 9; xxviii, 22; Mark xi, 17; iii, 12; Heb. v, 7; Tit. iii, 10; Rev. xvii, 5. 6.)

Such, Sirs, are the *opinions which Romanists, at this day, entertain and propagate* respecting us. And yet, to forward a favourite project, an English Catholic would insinuate, that these Romanists think *very favourably of us, and our religion*; and the Revd. Sydney Smith is for "*kissing them and being friends*"! How, I ask again, under such circumstances, can our understandings and our principles, be more grossly insulted? And what is this, but recommending the commission of fornication with "*the Mother of Harlots and abominations of the earth*"; in whose embraces so many "*Kings and Nations have partaken of her plagues*;" and who has so often been seen "*drunken with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus*"? (Rev. 17.)

For, if any human Being, possessed of reason, can doubt either the intention or the tendency of the above language and *Doctrines*, let him see what illustration Catholics have given of them in their *Practice*. To this rule of judgment Dr. Troy has the hardihood to refer; and it is certainly a legitimate one: "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*"

Some memorable instances of these *fruits of the Romish faith* have already been adduced. I will here further specify their *practical treatment* of those on whose account, as we have seen, the Decrees of the first of the above-named Councils were issued, the *Albigenses*. This treatment our learned and faithful Church Historian Milner designates, as comprehending "*an assemblage of every thing cruel, perfidious, indecent, and detestable*;" a persecution which "*demonstrates, from the testimony even of Roman Writers, that the horrors of the Papal tyranny have not been misrepresented in general by Protestant Authors.*" After the usual blasphem-

mous promises of remission of sins, and indulgences, and Paradise, to all persons who will engage in a Crusade against this People, and Raymond their Lord, the Bull of Pope Innocent on the occasion proceeds: “And since *we are not to keep faith with those, who do not keep it with God*, we would have all to understand, that every person, who is bound to the said Earl Raymond by Oath of Allegiance, or by any other way, is absolved by Apostolic authority from such obligation, and it is lawful for any Roman Catholic, to persecute the said Earl, and to seize upon his Country . . . We exhort you, that you would endeavour to destroy the wicked heresy of the *Albigenses*; and do this with more rigour than you would use towards the *Saracens themselves*: persecute them with a strong hand: deprive them of their lands and possessions: banish them, and put *Roman Catholics* in their room.” &c. &c.—This persecution, marked by scenes of perfidy, hypocrisy, devastation, massacre, burning, hanging, torturing, and studied refinements of cruelty, over which the Roman Pontiffs presided, and at the bare mention of which even corrupted human nature stands aghast, was continued through a long course of years; during one part of which our boasted model of modern Popery, Pius 4th, makes a conspicuous figure: and all this is done against a *people* whose character Beza, Bullinger, Luther, and other leading Reformers, pronounce to have been *excellent*, and whose whole damning crime was *incipient Protestantism*.

Thus, to the very letter, was the Romish *persecuting Creed* practically fulfilled in the case of the *Albigenses*. Nor, to adopt the summary of a learned and pious modern Writer on this subject, “can we forget, that it was also the *Creed* of those, who massacred the *Protestants* on the day of *St. Bartholomew*:” a day tragical and foul beyond all description; and which yet was celebrated at Rome by a solemn *thanksgiving*; accompanied with a *Jubilee* to all *Christendom*; and a *plenary absolution* from the Pope to all who had been actors in the massacre!—“It was the *Creed* of *Mary*, who on

principles of Conscience devoted Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, to the flames. It was the Creed of those, who at one explosion would have sacrificed the Three Estates of the Realm. It was the Creed of those Insurgents, who in the reign of Charles the First went far towards obliterating the name of Englishmen in the kingdom of Ireland; and who against Protestants exercised cruelties, which an eminent Historian (Hume) asserts would shock the least delicate humanity. It was the Creed of the Second James; who under the semblance of mildness and of equality in privileges to all his subjects (the very plea now urged by the advocates for Romanists) dispensed with Laws, imprisoned Bishops, and filled the highest departments with Men of his own persuasion. It was the Creed of those, who little more than a hundred years since, occasioned Thirty Thousand Protestants to withdraw from Saltzburgh; and who inflicted punishment of a barbarous nature on the Protestant Magistrates and People of Thorn. It was the Creed of those, who but fifteen years before the reign of His late Majesty George the 3rd, within this Kingdom encouraged a War, which had for its object the total overthrow of the Protestant Government and the utter exclusion of the Protestant Sovereign then existing, on whose head a price was set by the foreign enemy whose cause they favoured. It was the Creed of those, who within our own memory, so recently as the year 1798, in Ireland instigated a Rebellion, which a Writer of that Country declares to have been eminently destructive; and which, he affirms, *massacred, without mercy, all Protestants, Men, Women, and Children.*"

But it would fill huge folios rather than a small Pamphlet, thus to proceed with *particulars*. Suffice it, therefore, to add the *general statement* of another modern Writer, strongly supported by Authorities: "*Popery has taken away the lives of fifty Millions of Protestants in Europe! and of twelve Millions of native Americans; (Bartholomew De las Casas says fifteen Millions:)* and, to say nothing of the horrors of

the Inquisition at Goa, has, therefore, destroyed more than five times the present population of Great Britain, and more than one third part of that of Europe !”

When, then, the Advocates of Catholic Emancipation would write of what is truly “horrible,” let them direct their attention to this Scene. And so far from their everlasting and disgusting cant of *Candor* and *Charity*, let them never more mention the subject of *common humanity*, while, directly or indirectly, they seek to encourage a system productive of consequences like these : while they seek again to arm such Religionists with the sword of Power.

Nor is their case at all mended by the wicked attempt at *recrimination* on this head. It is lamentably true, that in the infancy of the Reformation, a few persons suffered death on account of their religious opinions, through the remaining mistaken notions of Protestants then in Power. Those who had been *educated* in a *persecuting Church* did not, at once, get wholly emancipated from its errors. Were we, however, like Romanists, disposed to boast of miracles, it would certainly appear a notable one, that the advances to Toleration made by the leading Founders of the English Church were so rapid ; and that the spots on her fair garments are so few. It is observable too, that while the *whole* of this class of defects which are imputed to her are of *Papal origin*, some of them are *wholly Popish* ; being the acts of an austere Monarch who only “ *killed the Pope’s body but left his soul alive.*” It is further observable, that the instances of the punishment of death for *religious opinions* in this Kingdom after the Reformation was in some degree perfected, are rather to be ascribed to the *infirmities of Individuals* than to the standing *Laws* or *Doctrines* of the Church. From the first legal establishment of this distinguished Daughter of Protestantism, she required nothing to “ *be believed as an article of the faith, or thought necessary to salvation, but what is read in, or may be proved by, the Holy Scriptures :*” (Art. 4.) which she earnestly exhorts all persons to read and examine for

themselves. (1st. Hom.) And whatever of intolerance most sullied the characters of any of her members in some after Reigns, is justly imputable to the very circumstance of which we are now so anxious to prevent the recurrence, the influence of *Popish Advisers* in our Government.

What, however, is here most deserving of remark and recollection : The *burnings* in *Queen Mary's* days, it is on all hands notorious, were for *matters of faith* ; the rejection of Transubstantiation, and other distinguishing doctrines of Popery : whereas, as from all impartial History it is equally notorious, the *executions* in the *reign of Elizabeth*, and most of those in some succeeding reigns, were for *treason* and *sedition* ; meditated and actual *rebellion* : crimes which would justly have subjected their Perpetrators to the punishment of Death under every Government, of whatever religious principles : and the attempt to represent these *traitors* and *rebels*, convicted Agents of a *foreign Enemy*, and *Plotters against the throne* and *life* of their respective Sovereigns, as *martyrs for religion*, and place them on a level with those *excellent of the earth*, the venerable founders of the British Church ; our *Cranmers*, and *Ridleys*, and *Latimers*, is certainly an extraordinary exhibition of disregard for all principle : And that, under all the other circumstances of the case, and in spite of so much concurring opposite evidence of his Protestant Brethren of all times and grades, this should be done by a Clergyman of the Church of England, who revels in the so often *refuted falsehoods* of *Popish Writers*, is still more extraordinary ; and renders *his* testimony on the subject worthless indeed. Just as well might he have swelled his list of Christian Martyrs from the Notes of Sir Richard Birnie, and the Calendars of Newgate.

Why has not this Writer also, in the plenitude of his pleasantry and parallelisms, favoured his Readers with a description of the *horrible* and *blasphemous form* of the *Protestant Anathema* ; in which, as a celebrated living Author summarily describes that of Rome, “ a Christian Minister calls

upon the Redeemer of mankind to fulfil execrations which the Devil himself might seem to have inspired : and a curse is pronounced against the obnoxious persons in soul and body, and in all their limbs and joints and members ; every part being specified with a bitterness which seems to delight in dwelling on the sufferings that it imprecates ?—Why has he not added a History of the acts of that most execrable engine of *Protestant* tyranny and cruelty, the *Inquisition* ? On this head, Limborch, Stockdale, and Llorente, would have amply supplied him with materials : the last of which historians, who had himself been Secretary to the *Inquisition*, and drew his information from the most authentic sources, assures us, “ that in *Spain alone*, thirty-one thousand, nine hundred and twelve persons had been burnt alive ; and upwards of three hundred thousand others condemned to have their goods confiscated, or to suffer dreadful punishments by this dreadful Institution.” Making, then, the most moderate calculation of Sufferers at this tribunal in other Countries, the numbers would be immense, and the *balance of cruelty* would here, doubtless, have been found greatly on the side of the *Protestants*. And yet, the substitution of *Protestant* for *Papist* in these instances, for which trick he might doubtless also have found Popish Precedents, would not have left a more false impression than that of the general statements of our Author on the subject of persecution. Why then has his modesty induced him to leave his picture incomplete ? (See only on this head the “ Accusations of History,” &c. by the Revd. G. Townsend ; and an Essay on Popery by Dr. Townley.)

But “ It is COMPLETELY UNTRUE,” the Revd. Sydney Smith informs us, “ that the Catholic Religion is what it was three Centuries ago, or that it is UNCHANGEABLE and UNCHANGED. These are mere words, without the *shadow of truth* to support them.”—Mr. Butler, on the other hand, says : “ It is MOST TRUE that the Roman Catholics believe the Doctrines of their Church to be UNCHANGEABLE : and that it is a tenet of their

Creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be." Mr. Plowden had previously said: "If any one pretend to insinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics DIFFER IN ONE IOTA from *their Ancestors*, he either *deceives himself*, or he *wishes to deceive others*: SEMPER EADEM is more emphatically descriptive of our *Religion*, than of our *Jurisprudence*." Mr. S. Smith has here a *choice* of characters assigned to him by his Catholic Friend, unless he chooses to adopt them both. But how happens it, that this hectoring Parish Priest understands Popery not only so much better than all the Gentlemen who attend "No-Popery Meetings," nearly the whole Bench of English and Irish Protestant Bishops, and nine-tenths of his Revd. Parochial Brethren; but also better than the *Papists* themselves? Mr. Plowden is a very experienced and highly respected modern Catholic Author. Mr. C. Butler is a learned and eminent Catholic Barrister, in theological combat the acknowledged Goliath of his party, and has recently been honored with the thanks of the English Roman Catholic Association for his Achievements against our learned Laureat: of which the above most explicit statement forms a part. We must, therefore, prefer the deliberate decisions of these distinguished Catholic Controversialists to the rash assertions of Mr. S. Smith: We have seen above, (p. 10) the explicit similar testimony of the eminent Romish Prelates, Milner and Tr  y: And, in short, without any evidence, know, that, in the nature of things, what is *infallible* must be *unchangeable*. This point then, it is hoped, in regard to Catholic Doctrines, may be considered as set at rest for ever: and, it infallibly follows, on these same authorities, that not only the *mummeries* but the *severities* of the *Creed of Pius 4th*, and the *Council of Trent*, are *binding on Catholics at this day*; and that it is still their *duty* to treat as *heretics* who are *excluded from Salvation*; Christians of *every other Communion*; whenever they can do it with effect.

Whatever *change*, therefore, is visible in the *conduct of modern Romanists* towards Protestants, must not be ascribed to a *change of their Creed*, but to that of some other *circumstances*; the most obvious of which is, that they have not, as formerly, possessed the *power of annoyance*. And those Writers who represent this improved conduct as an argument in favor of Catholic Emancipation, make that circumstance a plea for the removal of certain Restrictions which is the strongest possible proof of their utility. All natural history concurs in shewing, that at all times, a certain Animal when *free to act* according to its innate propensities has been found cruel and mischievous: Under certain *restraints*, perfectly compatible with its health and comfort, this Animal is seen to be innocuous, manageable, and useful: *therefore*, say our political Philosophers, *remove the restraints*; they are no longer necessary; and the improvement will be complete! Whereas, in the case before us, the *principles* of these Religionists remaining avowedly the same as formerly; human nature, and the nature of things, remaining the same; remove the Restraints, and render *circumstances* again the same; and, unless we can believe that another Dunstan will perpetually hold the Evil Spirit by the Nose with Pincers, in the ordinary course of events, a display of the same cruelty and mischief would be the result. Wise men do not still expect to “gather Grapes of Thorns or Figs of Thistles.”

Besides, we deny altogether that a fair sample of genuine Popery is afforded in the behaviour of English Catholics; living and moving and existing as they do, in a Society so prevaillingly Protestant; and which, therefore, they necessarily in many points resemble: Would they *resembled* us in *all things*, our faults only excepted! We do not wish to pluck a single sprig from any Laurel to which this class of our Countrymen are fairly entitled. Yet, even *they*, as we have seen, (p. 19) were compelled by their faith publicly to *recant their most solemn public Protestation and Declaration*: even *they* solemnly *protested* against the *Veto*: even *they* no-

toriously sanctioned the recent proceeding of Mr. O'Connell, and his violent Associates : even *they* publicly and insolently charge with "*barbarism*" the most exalted, and learned, and venerable Personages in this Kingdom, whose sense of duty compels them to oppose the Catholic Claims. (See Proceedings of Eng. Cath. Asso. London, January 30, 1826.)

Our "English Catholic" Author, after boasting of "more than a *century* of *inviolable* submission and Allegiance," be-thinks himself of the behaviour of his Brethren in Ireland not *thirty* years ago. But "*the Irish Rebellion*," he somewhat jesuitically says, "*was commenced* by the Protestants." For a true account of this horrible Rebellion, and massacre of Protestants, in 1798, see the appalling History of it by Sir Richard Musgrave; the Summary of its cruelties by Dr. Duigenan; or the Reports of the secret Committees of the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons; in all which accounts the conduct of the Romanist Insurgents is represented as most barbarous and base. This Rebellion might be *commenced* in one part of Ireland by persons who were not Romanists, but they were their *Allies* and *Confederates* in the evil work; the Cobbetts and Woolers of that day: the kind of Saints with whom the Representatives of the Irish Catholic body recently took sweet Counsel, and held communion, in this Country: which last circumstance, viewed in all its bearings, is enough without any other, to damn for ever the cause of Emancipation. What but mischief and misery can either rational Whigs or Tories, Churchmen or Dissenters, expect, from the accomplishment of a project so eagerly prosecuted by all that is turbulent, and all that is base, in the Kingdom; by every profane and seditious Journalist, every open and every insidious enemy both of Monarchy and of Christianity?

On a more *extensive* view, the boasted improvement of Popery is still more unsatisfactory. Look, for instance, at the late re-establishment of the *Inquisition*, and the restoration of the *Order of the Jesuits*: Look at the nearly universal

prevalence of *Infidelity* in Catholic Countries, as depicted to the life, by Blanco White; and the present deplorable state of *Religion and morals* in these Countries, as described by every Author of credit: Look at the tone, and temper, and transactions, of the *Irish Catholic Association*; the Oracle of which has not long ago unblushingly admitted, "that the present *Calamities of England* are a *Consolation* to him:" Look at the recognition, and disgusting imitation, of all the *heresy*, all the *hypocrisy*, and all the *blasphemy*, of the darkest ages, in the "*Bull of Indiction*" of the present Pope, "for the *Jubilee of the year 1825*:" in which, amidst other daring presumption and glaring imposture, out of the "heavenly treasury, purchased by the merits, passions, and virtues, of our Lord Christ, of his *Virgin Mother*, and of *all Saints*, and entrusted to him for distribution," His Holiness gravely proposes to dispense "the *most plenary and complete indulgences*, and *Pardon of all sin*," on conditions including a *pilgrimage to Rome*, and the visitation of certain specified Churches, for a *given number of days*!"

If there be a circumstance which above every other marks the true state of religion among any body of people, I am sure both Churchmen and Dissenters will agree with me in affirming, it is their estimation of the *Bible*. This was the grand engine by which our emancipation from the thralldom of Popery was achieved: and, in the emphatic language of the great Chillingworth, "The *Bible* is the religion of Protestants." Yet, who remembers not the tumultuous opposition, even to the endangering of a venerable Protestant Bishop's life, which was recently made by the Romanists to the circulation of this blessed Book among the ignorant peasantry in Ireland? The Revd. Sydney Smith, indeed, with equal indiscretion and untruth, would insinuate, that this was only opposition to the circulation of *Protestant Bibles*, and to the *mode* in which this work was carried on; and was strictly analogous to what is done in this Country by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. These,

however, by no means appear the *real grounds* of the opposition from the *set Speeches* delivered on the occasion by the Romish Advocates: and if Mr. S. Smith will compare these Speeches with the first Homily of the Church of England, to which he has subscribed, entitled "A fruitful Exhortation to the reading and knowledge of the holy Scripture," even *he* will be constrained to admit, that scarcely any two Documents can differ more widely. And, because some of its Members are desirous that the Prayer Book also should be circulated by Churchmen, is a venerable Society, which, with indefatigable zeal, has for more than a century, been *circulating Bibles without Note or Comment*, both at home and abroad, to be degraded by a comparison with those who, in direct contradiction of an Apostle, deny the *sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures* for Salvation; consider the unrestrained circulation of these sacred Writings in the vulgar tongue *highly mischievous*; and admit, before the Parliamentary Committee, that "in *no instances* they have allowed the circulation of the Bible among the *Laity without Notes*"? These Romanist Divines may, indeed, have been driven by the exertions of others to the conclusion, that it will not do any longer to *lock up altogether* the knowledge of this inspired Book; but, while they only circulate it with such Notes as we have noticed above, (p. 24) and reserve to themselves the *sole power* of rightly *interpreting* it, their conduct must be the very reverse of satisfactory to every honest Protestant.

But hear the *Pope* himself: who, as was also the case with his Predecessor, Pius the 7th, is disturbed beyond measure at the "audacious," "insidious," and "impious," procedure of "a certain Society, vulgarly called *The Bible Society*:" He means the British and Foreign Bible Society. This institution his Holiness designates a "*Pest*": its *object*, "to circulate the Bible and translate it into the vernacular languages of all nations," he assures us, is in "despite of the *Traditions* of the Holy Fathers, and in opposition to the well-known *Decree of the Council of Trent* on the publication and

use of the Sacred Books :” and the *result* of its labours, he says, is, that it every where obtrudes on the populace what is “*deadly and destructive* ;” and “frames out of the Gospel of Christ, a GOSPEL OF THE DEVIL.”—Now, it is well known by all persons acquainted with such subjects, that the *Decree of the Council of Trent* refers, not to the use of some *wrong translation* of it, but to the *Bible itself*. It is well known too, that the *translations* in question, in all *fundamental matters*, differ little from translations which have been sanctioned by the Papists themselves.—And, that it is the *circulation of the Bible itself*, in however pure a translation, which his Holiness is so anxious to prevent, he does not leave a possibility of denying. The language of “Pius the 7th, of pious memory,” in his letter to Stanislaus, Archbishop of Mohileff, dated Rome, Sepr. 3rd, 1816, to which the present Pope expressly refers, is : “that if the *Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue* were permitted any where, without discrimination, *more injury than benefit would thence arise*.” He adds ; “You should sincerely and plainly teach, that the *Christian truth and doctrines*, as well dogmatical as moral, are contained *not in the Scriptures only*, but also in the *tradition of the Catholic Church*, and that it belongs to the Church herself ALONE to *interpret each of them*.”—In precisely the same strain, Leo the 12th, exhorts the Romish Clergy to use their utmost exertions, that those under their charge, “conforming themselves exactly to the Rules of the Congregation of the *Index*, may be assuredly persuaded, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the *vulgar tongue*, be generally permitted without discrimination, MORE DETRIMENT THAN UTILITY will arise from such a practice.”

Here again, then, the confident statements of the Revd. Sydney Smith, are directly at issue with those of the very highest Romish Authorities ; even those of the *present Pope* himself.—And, from the Counsels and Domination of men who thus condemn, and would withhold from our free investigation, this *second best gift of heaven* to man ; this Divine

Testament in which are contained all our hopes of a better world; which is our only safe Guide, and main source of consolation, in the present life; and on which the British Constitution itself is founded; what honest Protestant, Churchman or Dissenter, will not pray from the heart, in the Words of our Litany, *Good Lord deliver us?*

But, be the *principles* of Romanists what they may, how shall we answer the *Argument of Menace* by which the cause of Emancipation is supported? These Romanists, we are told, are “six Millions” strong; and can readily obtain aid from some foreign enemy of our Country; and, that if we do not graciously *concede* their Claims, they will, ere long, assuredly *take* them. Of all this we have many not obscure hints from themselves: this is the unequivocal and decided statement of the Revd, Sydney Smith; and, in effect, in this verdict agree the Advocates of Emancipation all.—Now, if this really be the case, the condition of our Country is deplorable; and we may soon have bitterly to lament, that we escaped the tender mercies of Bonaparte. Happily, however, in that part of the united Kingdom where Romanists most abound in numbers, they are in a vastly greater disproportion inferior to the Protestants in possessions, and power and influence of another kind: and, viewed in connexion with the Empire at large, their numbers cannot possibly afford rational ground for dismay. Were it otherwise, it cannot be conceived, that Englishmen have so far degenerated from the character of their Ancestors, or are so destitute of trust in the God of their Fathers, that they would tamely be bullied out of their Religion. If, however, these Statements of Emancipationists are in any considerable degree true, it is high time for Protestants to look to themselves: they are here furnished with the very strongest argument against investing these *numerous, menacing, and ill-connected*, Romanists with *power in the British Government*.

It is here highly worthy of remark, how truly Jesuitical is the management of this argument respecting *numbers*. When

it is wanted to serve the purpose of intimidation, it is swelled as we now witness. On other occasions, we are calmly assured, that the admission of the Representatives of so comparatively small a body into the British Senate, could not possibly afford the slightest solid ground for apprehension. So true is the Apostolic Aphorism, that "Evil communications corrupt good manners": that men soon in some degree resemble those with whom they are much conversant. Our Revd. Emancipationist admits, that at a period when, as he informs us, "*the Irish Catholics were broken to pieces by the severity and military execution of Cromwell, and by the penal laws,*" there was great danger to England from Popery, on account of the dreaded co-operation of a foreign enemy in its cause: but that *now*, when, as he says, (although murdered so many times over by later Protestants) "*these Irish Catholics are become a GREAT AND FORMIDABLE PEOPLE; the SAME DREAD OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE,*" he tells us, "*makes it necessary*" to admit them into the Councils of our Protestant Government, and arm them with civil power!! And then, as if wholly regardless of what he is just uttering about *great and formidable* and *dread* and *millions*, this clerical Politician jocosely accuses his Opponents of absurdly applying the same remedy to a house when on fire and when under water!—His simile of the great man's abandonment of his "Pheasants" to the Poachers, "*the sport not being worth the candle,*" is, however, here far more appropriate: And when British Protestants do not think their *Faith*, and other *distinguishing Privileges*, any longer *worth* defending, or when they are *compelled* to do it, they will abandon them, but not, we trust, before.

But Catholics, like Pigs, Mr. Sydney Smith elegantly and facetiously informs us, may be more easily *led* than *driven*. This *Swinish simile* furnishes, however, a decisive illustration against himself. The Boy scattering the Barley, as here recommended, has been long employed: the result has been, that the more the bristly animals got of the precious grain the more they wanted; and the whole herd have now turned

back, and are vehemently screaming at the Storehouse Door for admission to the heap. This admission, our Author recommends: but what person of common sense does not see the inevitable destruction and ruin that would ensue?

Mr. S. Smith, indeed, might still facetiously exclaim, *Barley for ever!* and gravely pretend to assure us, that this opening of the door to his Swine, would be the very best means for its preservation and security. Such an Exclamation would not be a greater outrage against common reason, than some in which he has indulged, and which may be fairly interpreted as follows: "My cry," he says, "then is, *No Popery*; therefore emancipate the Catholics:" that is, *No Popery*; therefore, afford it *every possible encouragement*: Admit its Professors to a share in our *Legislature*; and make a *liberal provision for its Clergy*: "Give the Irish Catholic Archbishop £1200. per Annum; the Bishop £800.; the Priest £200.; and the Coadjutor £100. per Annum"! "*Church for ever*; therefore emancipate the Catholics:" therefore, put this Church under the *guardianship of those*, who avowedly consider it *heretical and excluded from Salvation*; and who are solemnly pledged to do their uttermost to *effect its subversion*! "*King for ever*; therefore emancipate the Catholics:" therefore, *supply him with Counsellors* whose principles are diametrically opposed to those he is bound to maintain inviolate by the solemn Oath of his Coronation! "Our Government is *essentially Protestant*;" therefore, its union and strength will be best preserved by the aid of their services whose duty it is to advance the cause of what is *essentially Popish*! "The *more violent and the more absurd* the conduct of Catholics, the greater the wisdom of Emancipation"! that is, the more likely such persons are to *employ power* to the advantage of our Protestant Church and State! Can absurdity be carried to a higher pitch; or more offensively obtruded?—Yet, of precisely the same kind is the project of his British Majesty *outbidding the Pope* in the matter of Allegiance, and *bribing disaffected Romanists* "not to join with *foreign Papists* in time

of War ;" and, in violation of their most solemn religious engagements, "not to help to pull down our *Protestant Church*:" and the assertion, in support of this golden scheme, that "*All men gradually yield to the comforts of a good income*;" while it says little for the *sincerity of the Writer's own faith*, implies a more *serious charge* against modern Catholics than any which are preferred by Anti-Emancipationists.

In point of fact, however, to a very decisive extent, this boasted scheme of disarming Romish hostility by *Concession*, has already been tried, and found completely to fail in *practice*; as it always must do, unless Protestants will *concede every thing*. Ever since the year 1793, "Lord Liverpool in his graceful manner, has walked before the Catholic Doctors," scattering the barley with a pretty liberal hand; and the effect has been, increased dissatisfaction, incessant agitation, and more imperious demands: and, in spite of all his grace, and all his liberality, by sheer sense of duty to his King and Country, is now compelled to desist.—And how can it be otherwise? The ultimate desire of every sincere British Catholic must be, what is pretty unequivocally expressed by one of their Advocates, to see "*the present Protestants of England ceasing to be truants, and thinking fit to return to their ANCIENT WORSHIP, and to have a CATHOLIC KING, and a CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT.*" The supposition that, when possessed of Political power, this class of his Majesty's subjects would *quietly support or endure* a Protestant established Church, and other Protestant Institutions, is not only contrary to all reason and all past experience; but presumes, that these Six Millions of men are all *Hypocrites* in Religion. All the "*Security compatible with the safety of their faith,*" for such a behaviour, and for regulating their intercourse with "*the See of Rome,*" of which our Author boasts, is no Security at all. The recent *Declaration* of the Irish Catholic *Archbishops and Bishops* not to disturb and weaken the *Protestant Religion and Protestant Government* in Ireland, not only does not afford any such *Security* but is itself an *irrefragable proof*,

that, on this point, they are wholly unworthy of credit ; be cause, as we have seen above, (p. 11, 12) these Prelates have all at their consecration most *solemnly sworn* to pursue a *diametrically opposite* conduct ; and because such a treatment of Protestantism would be utterly incompatible with their professional Character. "It is," says the venerable Lord Liverpool, already noticed, "the *duty, the religion, the oath, the every thing, with the Papists to destroy the Established Protestant Church.*"

In this instance very strikingly, on wishes gratified, we see more imperious wishes grow. Only two years ago, the Rev. Emancipation Advocate under our immediate notice exclaimed, "No Catholic Chancellor ; No Lord Keeper ; No Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ;" &c. ; and assured us, that "*many other restraints and negatives*" would be contained in the proposed Catholic Relief Bill : he now says, "No *disqualifications and incapacities*, for a man's faith ;" and without exception, designates them all, as "only the *cruelty and tyranny* of a more civilized age." And, after many former avowals of their body to the contrary, the more honest of the leading Agitators themselves, now also insist upon "UNQUALIFIED *Emancipation.*"—And would those who, while in the capacity of Petitioners, thus *roar in the Lobby*, be more moderate and manageable, when invested with power, and in *possession of the House* ? Or, on the emergency anticipated, would their *foreign Catholic Friends*, of whom, and of whose "*fleets and bands,*" we have so many intimations, be less ready to aid the favourite cause of Popery, when, assisted by all the arts and eloquence of the O'Connells, and O'Gormans, *within the House* ; as well as the Cobbettites, Radicals, and other sworn enemies of all religion *without*, the attack on our Protestant Institutions could be made with so much better a prospect of success ? Can the answer, *Certainly not*, admit of a rational doubt ?

And, in the contemplation of such events, what honest Protestant does not tremble, if not for the ultimate safety of

the Ark, at least with apprehension of the heart-rending commotions and misery that would inevitably ensue? Connected with so much violence and restlessness, and thus misdirected, even the boasted talents of such additional British Senators would render them more mischievous.—“They (the Catholics) well know,” says a learned and pious modern Writer, “that the day which shall see them *enter the House of Commons in a Legislative capacity*, as professed Catholics, will be the day from which to date the *Degradation of the Protestant Religion* in the British Empire. Grant us, say they in their hearts, with the Theban General, *one step*, and we shall conquer. Give them but *one step* in the *House of Commons*; equality in England, ascendancy in Ireland, will certainly follow.”

But the *Exclusion* of Romanists from civil Offices, is vehemently charged with *Injustice*, and we are called upon by “An English Catholic” to reconcile this measure with our “professed respect for the Divine Precept of *doing to others as we would be done by*.”—On this Sacred ground we meet our Romish Opponents most gladly; and should anticipate a happy result could all our differences be decided by this Standard. Yet, even this golden precept of our divine Master’s must be rightly understood, and applied with its proper limitations, before we can suitably profit by it. Due regard must, in every instance, be paid to *circumstances*; and only our *reasonable* expectations from others should be made the Rule of our conduct towards them. Such an explanation of this celebrated moral Precept will be admitted just by every Commentator of reputation, of whatever Creed.

Here then we are, Protestants and Catholics, all members of one great civilized Community; and, taking the whole Empire into consideration, which is the case before us, Protestants constituting the great majority. But, in order to the greatest *general good*, in every such Community, ancient and modern, of whatever religious principles, certain human *Laws* and *Restrictions* of universal obligation, have been

found necessary. These "Ordinances of man," with the respective Stations of Governors and Governed, and their appropriate Duties, the Sacred Code now appealed to, every where recognizes, and enforces. Omitting, then, other considerations, on the lowest principle of Authority, *that* originating in the *Will* of the majority, can it reasonably be expected, that these Laws should be new-modelled and altered at the pleasure of the minority? Is it not most unreasonable and unjust to expect, that *three-fourths* of his Majesty's Subjects should permit alterations which they firmly believe would expose all that is dear to them to the most imminent peril; merely to gratify the ambition of a small proportion of the remaining *one-fourth*, by investing them with privileges which, if they are honest men, they could not but exercise to the perpetual annoyance and disadvantage of those by whom the Concession is made?

Then, the object of all Laws and Constitutional Arrangements being the *good of the public*, it is highly reasonable, that those who are appointed to Offices for carrying such arrangements into effect, and managing the public concerns of the Community, should furnish some satisfactory *proof* of their suitable *qualification* for such Offices; and that their *principles* and *other circumstances* are such, as will naturally induce them to exercise the power intrusted to them for the public welfare. The demand of some such *security* from Candidates for public offices is obviously essential to the efficiency, and even self-preservation, of any Government; and is the dictate of common sense not less than of general expediency. The *principle* is uniformly acted upon by men of wisdom in the affairs of common life: It was uniformly acted upon by every ancient Government of whatever form. What Scholar recollects not, the *Oaths* which were taken by the young men; by the Archons; by the Senators; by the Heliastic Judges; at Athens? Who recollects not the *Ritual Ceremony*, amounting in itself to a Sacramental Test, performed by the Senators at Rome; the *offering of Sacrifice* by

the Magistrate who called the Senate, during the Commonwealth; and the *Supplication at the Altar* with frankincense and wine, made by every Senator before he took his Seat, according to a Decree of Augustus?—The same *principle* is acted upon, as we have above (p. 16.) adduced an instance, in the most republican of modern Governments:—It is most fully recognized and acted upon by the Advocates of Catholic Emancipation themselves, in regard to the British Government. Who knows not, that no persons are allowed to have a voice in the election of our Legislators, except such as are *qualified* by certain *specified possessions*, or are *freemen* of some privileged Body, or Place?—“*Civil offices open to all*,” to be *claimed* as an “*indefeasible Right*,” without regard to *pledge, principles, or qualification*, according to the senseless rant, or disingenuous insinuations, of the Writers before us, is utterly *impracticable Radicalism*, which never obtained in any Country, under any Government, of any form, ancient or modern; not even amidst the phrensies of the French National Assembly.

In what the *Test* of suitable qualification for public Offices shall consist, every Country in framing its Constitution is competent to decide. All that Justice requires is, that *all Subjects* in a free Government should be entitled to *equal privileges on equal conditions*. And this is precisely the case before us, under the British Constitution. His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects are admissible to Office on *precisely the same conditions* as his other Subjects: and only because they will not fulfil these conditions, will not give the requisite Security for the proper discharge of such Offices, are they excluded from the benefits of Official Situations. Whatever therefore, the inconveniences of their civil condition may be, they are entirely the result of their own conduct: and on the *broad principle of justice* we repel their alleged grounds for complaint: unless it be oppression and injustice, that Protestants refuse to abandon this Constitution of equal rights on equal conditions, in order to frame one on purpose

for the Romanists which they are confident would be ruinous to themselves.

But on the subject of these alleged *grievances*: Let our Authors bear in mind, that the primary end of all public Office is the *good of the State*; and not absurdly reason as if this was the aggrandizement of needy or ambitious Individuals; and as if no persons were benefited by the Constitution, but those who are employed in its Administration. The immense mass of Subjects already mentioned who do not possess the elective Franchise, and have no part in either making or administering the Laws of the Constitution, enjoy nevertheless a large portion of its most valuable blessings, in the protection of their persons and property, their liberty and religion; and are, therefore, justly called upon to contribute to its support. In these unspeakable civil blessings the whole body of our Roman Catholic Fellow Subjects participate in common with ourselves: Various avenues to wealth and consideration are, at the same time, open to them; and nearly the full career of military honors. "It was argued," said a consummate Judge on such a subject, Lord Liverpool, in a recent Debate, "as if the Catholics were deprived of all civil rights and privileges; whereas they *enjoy more rights and privileges than the Subjects of any other Christian Prince.*" Such are their intolerable privations, and oppressions! And, under such circumstances do this body of men incessantly agitate the United Kingdom, and ungratefully harass the British Government with complaints.

In settling the British Constitution, our Ancestors, in the exercise of their undoubted prerogative, thought fit to embrace *Polity Ecclesiastical* as well as Civil; and to make the *Protestant Religion* an *essential part* of it: and having done this, to require from Candidates for Power such a pledge of obedience to its institutions as to them seemed best adapted to secure its perpetuity, and promote the general liberty and happiness of the Nation. The demand, therefore, for admission to political Power without this sacred pledge, amounts

to nothing less than a demand for a fundamental change of our long-admired, and far-famed Constitution ; and is altogether as unreasonable as dangerous. Addressing those who advocate this unconstitutional Demand, a Royal Duke, the Heir-apparent of these Realms, most pertinently remarks : “ You place the Church of England in a situation in which no other Church in the world is placed : the Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England, or Parliament, to interfere with *his* Church ; and yet he requires you to allow him to interfere with *your* Church, and to *legislate* upon it.”

On the whole, may we not, with equal fairness and confidence, appeal to our Redeemer’s golden Rule of equity for a decision in our favor beyond all controversy ? Supposing ourselves in precisely the circumstances of the Romanists, a minority of persons in a great Empire, professing a Religion differing from that of the majority, and of the State, and with *which* we will not allow either this *majority*, or the *State*, or even the *King*, to *interfere* ; could we reasonably expect, that they should allow us to *interfere* with and *legislate* for *theirs* ? Can a decisive Answer in the negative admit of a doubt, only on this supposition ? But, supposing further, which is the undoubted fact, that we had *sworn fealty* to another Master, and that our Religion was such as would render it our *bounden duty* to employ whatever *influence* we might obtain in the Senate to the *detriment* and *overthrow* of the established Religion, would not the expectation of admission into Parliament under such circumstances not only exceed all reason, but, (in any except these most ominous times) all sober belief ? The Precept “ *Whatsoever ye would, &c.* ” will not, certainly, here serve our Opponents at all. What would not be the gross and palpable injustice done to others in following their view of the application of it ?

But, the representation of this *Exclusion from Power*, this Disallowance of *Papal legislation* for a *Protestant Church*, as inconsistent with *religious Toleration*, and as a most grievous *persecution* of the Roman Catholic Religion ; with long rhap-

sodies about "*oppression, tyranny in belief, a free altar, an open road to heaven ;*" &c. &c. is both a gross abuse of language, and a flagrant act of dishonesty : Withholding rewards for services not performed, and which those who covet them are incapable of performing, is neither oppression in civil cases, nor persecution in what concerns religion. "Toleration," said the immortal Pitt, "consists in a *free exercise of religion* according to the tenets of the Professors of that religion, and in the enjoyment of the *protection* of the laws, not in a *communication of political power*." This *perfect freedom* to worship their Maker according to the dictates of their own consciences, with none to make them afraid, Roman Catholics, in common with every other Denomination of Christians, in this Country, happily enjoy : and it is our high estimation of this *perfect religious liberty*, and our anxiety for its uninterrupted perpetuation, which makes us jealous of the encroachments of a Church which is *essentially and incurably intolerant ;* and which publicly and avowedly *anathematizes every Denomination of Christians but its own*. The Claims which this Church now so vehemently urges, do not respect *liberty* (this she already enjoys) but *power ;* not *freedom* to worship *God*, but *influence* to govern *men ;* not *protection* in the exercise of her *own religion*, but *means of annoying ours* : and Wo be to Protestants, Churchmen and Dissenters ; if, under some awful infatuation for our sins, these Claims should be conceded ! Never should we forget her standing maxim, that "when *Heretics* are *strong* they are left to God, when *weak* to the *Executioner*."—(Bellarmine.)

So destitute of well-grounded support is the cause of Catholic Emancipation from considerations of *justice and equity*, as well as from those of policy.

Numberless other facts and observations tending to the same issue, prominently obtrude themselves ; but already I have much exceeded my prescribed limits.—It were easy to show, how clearly it is the Duty of Protestants to discountenance every kind of encouragement of the Romish system,

in consideration of its *unscriptural, dangerous, idolatrous, and blasphemous Doctrines* : but to do justice to this branch of the subject would fill a volume.

It were easy further to show, by literal details from their publications, confronted with unquestionable truth, the want of good faith, glaring inconsistency, disingenuous evasion, and palpable misrepresentations and misstatements, of the Papal Advocates immediately under our consideration : but, beyond what is absolutely necessary as a proper *caution* to their Readers, such a task seems invidious, and is gladly declined. Independently of its corrective effects, the information, however attested, that one man is knavish, and another foolish ; a third ridiculous, and a fourth highly scurrilous ; and that one or two of these Worthies unite in their characters a marvellous combination of all these qualities, contains nothing new, and is of mighty little public importance.

It were easy absolutely to demonstrate, the hypocrisy and absurdity of a large portion of the *cant* respecting *Charity* and *Liberality*, which is employed in behalf of the *most uncharitable* and *illiberal* of all systems : and to prove, that, as in this Cry many better persons who excite it, are joined by the whole host of Latitudinarians, Sceptics, and avowed Unbelievers, there is great reason to fear, that, at the bottom, it originates in some lamentable defect in their *own faith* : that, without any *yearning of bowels* they can hear proposals for *dividing it*, because theirs is “ the dead Child.” Whereas, real Christian Charity is at the farthest distance from *indifference to all fixed principle*, or from “ calling evil good, and good evil ;” and consists in *solicitude* for the furtherance of *Scriptural truth*, and the *reformation*, and *happiness*, and everlasting *salvation* of mankind.

It were easy very satisfactorily further to prove, how little weight is on this subject due, to the reported opinions of some very great Men. In regard to the illustrious *Pitt*, it is a gross attempt at deception to adduce *his authority* as favouring what the Catholics now demand. Repelling a Report,

that he had promised the Irish Romanists something to this effect, on condition of their supporting the Union, "With singular emphasis," says a learned Irish Author and Senator, "he (Mr. Pitt) *protested*, that such report was *destitute of all foundation*, and that neither he, nor any of his Colleagues in office, to his knowledge, or with his privity or consent, had entered into any such engagement."—Under the influence of Mr. Burke, the distractions of a desperate War, and other circumstances of embarrassment, Mr. Pitt, at one period, certainly countenanced some project for granting further privileges to Irish Romanists; if, on proper investigation, it should be found compatible with the safety of our Protestant Establishments. What the extent or precise nature of this projected measure was, he never explained: that it was intended to embrace their qualification for admission into Parliament, and the other Objects of their present Claims, it has been forcibly argued, it would be insanity to suppose; because this would have been a violation of many fundamental Laws of the British Constitution, for which Mr. P. always expressed the greatest respect and veneration.—And, in point of fact, whatever this project was, finding it *impracticable*, and that no further reasonable Concessions would satisfy these Romanists, and secure his object, he appears *wholly to have abandoned it*, together with his Office: afterwards resuming the one, and never again mentioning the other. (See Demands of Romanists, &c. by P. Duigenan, L. L. D. M. P. p. 155—168.)

Some of our distinguished Senators have formed their Opinions under the undue influence of Irish feeling and connexions: which, on this account, are only entitled to a qualified respect.—Others, as their Speeches are reported in the public Prints, (doubtless for the reasons assigned above, p. 13) in opposing anti-emancipation Members, have calmly represented as the unquestionable tenets of the Romish Church, the *very doctrines* which our leading Martyrs suffered at the Stake for maintaining!—And, the memorable *Ultima-*

tum of the whole body of Parliamentary Emancipationists, in their last Catholic Relief Bill, the *Security* to be derived from a "*Catholic Board*" reporting to our *Protestant Government* on the *safety* of Communications from the *Pope* ! (that Pope with whom their connection is what I have shewn it to be, p. 11, 12) is a public attack on common sense, which, surely, has not often had its parallel. Is not that project undeniably impracticable and pregnant with ruin inevitable, which, after so many years for consideration, the united talents of a Canning and a Robinson, a Huskisson and a Plunkett, are compelled to rest on such a foundation ! Is it not obvious, that, when advocating this most unconstitutional measure, the glory of these Worthies departs, and their opinions become weak like those of other men ?

Then in respect to this *Ireland* : Some excellent persons, I am persuaded, advocate Emancipation, as a kind of *last hope*, or *desperate remedy*, in the inveterate case of this political body. Their kind intentions ought not, however, to induce them, in the very worst style of Quackery, to make desperate experiments, teeming with death ; from which the expectation of any good effects would be contrary to all nature, all reason, and all past experience. Let these benevolent persons continue their endeavours to educate the poor, circulate the Bible, discountenance Absenteeism, and forward every other rational and constitutional project for ameliorating the condition of this interesting portion of his British Majesty's Subjects ; offering up their daily prayers to the Almighty for his Direction and blessing : In these laudable endeavours they will receive the zealous co-operation of all that is worthy in the great Body of Anti-Emancipationists : But, let them not absurdly prescribe as a panacea for the cure of Irish evils, the *encouragement* of a *system* which, for Centuries, has been the pregnant *cause* of them : Let them not, as they really value the peace and happiness of their fellow creatures, indiscreetly furnish with ampler means of mischief certain restless and ambitious Demagogues, who are

barely governable with what they already possess : Let them rest assured, that, whatever the present evils of the Sister Island may be, the investment of Popery with political power could only make *bad worse*.

I must further briefly notice the case of the British *Protestant Clergy* in this controversy. It is the fashion, in some quarters, to represent *their* efforts against Catholic Emancipation as the result of sheer *selfishness*, and wholly *unprofessional*. Now, certainly, those Clergymen, who, like one under our consideration, (if more like him there be) violate the solemn Vows of their Profession, dance attendance on party Dukes and Lords, and join the enemies of the Church on the bread of which they feed, and which it is their bounden duty to support, can scarcely be reprehended too severely. No language expressive of unprincipled selfishness can be misapplied here. The palpable dereliction of good faith in those whose very Office it is to inculcate the inviolable observance of it on others, is an appalling occurrence. Such religious Teachers, our meek and blessed Lord himself would have characterized as “ *Salt without savour ; fit neither for the Land, nor the Dunghill :*” and, were not their mischiefs counteracted by the more becoming deportment of others, soon would they effect the destruction of that which they are appointed to preserve.

But, can it seriously be imputed to any British Divines as a fault, that “ through evil report and good report,” they faithfully adhere to their sacred Engagements ; conscientiously exhibit the Scriptural foundation, and unrivalled beauty of their venerated Zion ; and manfully defend her assaulted Bulwarks ? Are not these the kind of Clergymen to whom the Protestant Established Church in this Kingdom owes its existence ? And is it not to Ministers of this character to whom, under God, we must especially look for her preservation ?

The Charge of blameably *interested motives* as applied to the Heads of this class of our Clergy, was fairly repelled, in

a recent Debate, by a learned Prelate, who said: "The same charge might with equal justice be made against other Lords, who, as great proprietors of the soil, might be accused of giving their support to this measure (of Catholic Emancipation) from temporal considerations of danger to their possessions."—Happily, under the British Government, as under that of the Supreme Governor of the World, in ordinary cases, the *duty and interest* of men are closely united; and the insinuation, that any Class of them, should abstain from the faithful discharge of the one, because it would notoriously advance the other, is a species of Philo-sophism almost exceeding any of the new-fangled absurdities of the French Revolutionists.

In regard to general *Politics*, connected as our civil and religious duties unquestionably are, (see p. 15, 16), it has always appeared to me, that *every Priest* who learns the Religion, which he preaches and otherwise inculcates, from his Bible and Catechism, is necessarily a *Political Priest*. What else is he, when, in conformity with the express terms of his divine Commission, he "Puts men in mind to be subject to Principalities and powers, and to obey Magistrates:" exhorts them to "submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King, as Supreme; or unto Governors:" assures them, that "Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and shall receive to themselves damnation:" and enjoins on them to "render unto *all*," according to their respective stations, their due degree of "tribute, custom, honor, and respect"?—(See Tit. iii. 1; 1st Pet. ii. 13; Rom. xiii.) What else are they, when, in the ordinary course of their duty, they teach their Catechumens to "honor and obey the King, and all that are put in authority under him"? The admission of our venerable Prelates into the House of Lords, is a proof that the British Constitution does not disjoin Politics from Religion: and, who can seriously believe, that on becoming Clergymen, this class of the Community forfeit

their ordinary rights as Britons?—The authority, like every other which is committed to men, may, doubtless, have been abused, but *that* Clergyman who does not meddle with what may fairly be termed *Politics*, does not discharge one important branch of his professional duty.

The Question before us, however, has been stated by a leading Ministerial Advocate for the Catholic Claims to be “partly civil, and partly theological.” (Mr. Plunkett.) And this is undoubtedly the fact.—In the name of common-sense, then, whose province is it to attend to its *theological* bearings but that of the Clergy? Are not the *National Clergy* the duly authorized and legitimate Guardians of the *National Church* and *Faith*? What would be thought of the sanity of any persons, who, on a general consultation respecting the best means of promoting the bodily health of his Majesty’s Subjects, should propose, that all *Physicians* be debarred from giving an opinion?—Protestant Clergymen do not, like Divines of the Romish Church, “lord it over God’s heritage,” and either restrain the laity from the full and free investigation of the Sacred Records, or arrogantly assume to themselves an *exclusive* power of interpreting the Scriptures; yet are they “Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord; to teach, and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord’s Family;” and, as a body, are, doubtless, entitled on religious subjects to the deference due to regular profession.

And do, Sirs, seriously consider the circumstances in which the Clergy of the Establishment are placed. On entering their weighty Office, they solemnly pledge themselves, “*never to cease their labour, their care and diligence, until they have done all that lieth in them, according to their bounden duty, to bring men unto agreement in the faith and knowledge of God:*” and, that they “*will be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s Word.*” They swear, at the same time, that “*no foreign Prince or*

Prelate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm :” They deliberately subscribe Articles of their Church speaking precisely to the same effect ; and which characterize some of the *Romish Doctrines*, as “ a fond thing, and repugnant to God’s Word ;” and others of them as “ *blasphemous Fables*, and dangerous *Deceits* :” They are firmly persuaded, as Individuals, that the measure in contemplation would be inconceivably injurious to the religion and happiness of the Nation : and, in regard to the great body of these Divines, they are earnestly charged and exhorted to unceasing vigilance and exertion on this point, by their venerable Heads. It would not be easy to place the Reasons for opposing Catholic Emancipation in a stronger light than that in which they have been placed in the Pastoral Charges, and other Productions, of those learned and excellent modern Prelates, Porteus, Barrington, Huntingford, Tomline, Marsh, Van Mildert, Blomfield, and Magee.—Yet, with some persons, all this should stand for nothing, in regulating the conduct of these Clergymen ! Neither regard for their own solemn engagements, or oaths, or opinions ; or for their religion, or Church, or Country, or Superiors ; or for all these together, is in anywise to move them. They are to see the Wolf tearing their flocks, and meditating their entire destruction ; and to sit still ! ! But, after allowing for a little cowardice, or mistaken judgment, or indisposition to shed even *Wolf’s blood*, in the case of a few *Individuals*, (with whom we do not meddle, unless they first attack us) it cannot be apprehended, that the British Clergy will shew themselves such “ faithless Shepherds ;” such “ dumb Dogs, that cannot bark ; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber ;” regardless, alike, of their own duty and our happiness : and that we are in the deplorable condition of those “ whose own Shepherds pity them not.” (Zech. x. 5.) By these “ appointed Watchmen,” it may be firmly hoped, the Trumpet will continue to be blown in our Zion, an effective Alarm given, and the ruinous

Designs of the enemy fully laid open : for, assuredly, under all the bearings of the projected measure, should “*They* hold their peace, the very Stones would cry out against them.”

On the whole, then, Brother Protestants, view the case before you as it really presents itself; and regulate your feelings and behaviour accordingly.—It has been proved, that in the *essential nature* and *fundamental principles* of *Popery* there is an *inveterate* and *invincible hostility* towards *Protestantism*; which, as occasion is afforded, must seek its humiliation and overthrow: (p. 10, 11, 21, 23.)—It has been proved, by the adduction of *well-known instances*, and a reference to undoubted *historic fact*, that, at all times when possessed of the opportunity, this hostile principle has displayed itself in *practice*: (p. 4, 9, 21, 30.)—It has been proved, on the same utterly unimpeachable authority, that the cruelties, barbarities, atrocities, and various modes of scandalous intolerance, exercised by the Romish Church towards Protestants when in its power, and this for many Centuries together, have been such as absolutely exceed all sober belief, and at the bare mention of which even corrupted human nature stands aghast: (Ibid.)—It has been irrefragably proved, from the acknowledged modern Standards of the Romish faith, and the Statements of their most celebrated modern Champions, that the principles of the Papal System remain *unchanged* and *unchangeable*; and that, therefore, human nature remaining the same, and Protestantism the same, however the fashionable *mode* of expressing it may have varied, the same hostility towards this system of religion must remain: that the *change* visible in the conduct of Romanists towards Protestants is chiefly ascribable to the *circumstance* of their not recently having possessed the *power of annoyance*: but that, in their behaviour respecting the circulation of the Bible, and in numberless other recent instances, it is abundantly evident, that the venom remains, and that the Animal only wants liberty to render it as mischievous as ever: Nor have we been pre-

pared by events not remote, to expect what is less horrible from the domination of *Infidelity* grafted on a *Popish Stock*, than from Popery itself:—(p. 30—37.)—It has been proved, that no satisfactory *Securities* can be provided to prevent Romanists from exercising Power to the detriment of our Protestant Church and Government; because such an exercise of power would be utterly incompatible with their *integrity* as Catholics; and because no *possible obligations* can be imposed on them stronger than those solemn and repeated Oaths and Obligations by which they are previously bound to *do their uttermost to advance the cause of the Pope and Popery*: (p. 11, 12) and, that a recent *Declaration* of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops, (p. 40) proves incontestably, the truth of a Charge their Advocates seem so anxious to repel; that, in matters relating to their Church, they will really tamper with their most solemn Oaths. In the *Oath* taken at their *Consecration*, and that of adherence to the *Creed of Pope Pius the 4th*, these Prelates have sworn what is as contrary to the proposals of this Declaration as *black* is to *white*. (Ibid.)—And do you not, Fellow-Protestants, in the face of such facts, tremble at the idea of replacing Power in such hands?

But, you have seen also, that the Barriers of our Protestant Constitution provided by the wisdom of our Ancestors, which exclude Romanists from Offices of Political trust and power, were found by them *absolutely essential to the public peace*: the whole period during which Catholics were in possession of this power being one continued series of plots, treasons, massacres, and attempts to annoy and subdue the Protestants: and, that, happily, by these disqualifying Statutes, for upwards of a century, Peace was comparatively secured; while the moment of their relaxation (however proper on some accounts) has proved the prelude to renewed agitation and disturbance: (p. 4, 5.)—You have seen, that although some *circumstances* bearing on the Question are changed; yet, that as the British Constitution is *essentially*

Protestant, and essentially connected with a Protestant Church; and as the King, and all who bear a part in its administration, are solemnly pledged to preserve it inviolably Protestant, there is a manifest absurdity in the project of employing in such a Government Popish Legislators and Advisers; Advisers whose bounden duty it would be to seek the extirpation of this Protestant Church, all its Members being considered by them excluded from Salvation: and, consequently, the necessity for the continuance of protecting Statutes: (p. 4—6) You have seen, how entirely the attempt at conciliation by *Concession* has failed in practice, as it ever must do while Protestants have any thing to withhold: that *much* conceded has imperiously demanded *more*; and that *more* would require *all*: and, that the ultimate desire of all conscientious Catholics must be a *Catholic King, a Catholic Government, and a Catholic Established Church: (p. 40—42.)*—You have seen in the *Argument of Menace*, what exaggeration and Jesuitical stratagem are resorted to; what potent reasons are here furnished why Protestants should immediately look to themselves; and, that, at all events, it is wiser to fight such Antagonists at the *Door* than in the *House*: unless by coaxing, indifference, or intimidation, you are prepared to *surrender your all*; and throw yourselves and your religion on the *tender mercies of the Pope, and Arthur O'Connell.* (p. 37—42.)

It has further appeared, how incapable of support the cause of Emancipation is on considerations of *Justice and Equity*: that under *all the circumstances* of the case, the Claims of the Romanists are *most unreasonable and unjust*; involving a *principle* utterly incompatible with *general expediency*, and which has never been acted upon by any Government in any age or Country; that these Romanists are admissible to offices of trust and power on *precisely the same conditions* as his Majesty's other Subjects; and that by no legitimate application of the golden Precept of our Lord, can they expect us to alter the fundamental nature of the British

Constitution merely for their accommodation, when we believe such alteration would be detrimental to ourselves and the public; or to give them the power of *interfering* with *our Church and Religion* when they will not allow us to *interfere with theirs*: that the representation of this disallowance of Papal interference with a Protestant Church as inconsistent with *religious Toleration*, is a gross abuse of language; the most *free exercise of his religion* being, happily, enjoyed by every Briton: and that, on the whole, compliance with these Catholic Claims would be an act of flagrant and most mischievous *injustice* to the great and vastly predominating body of British Protestants: (p. 42—47.)—It has appeared, what unfairness, insidiousness, palpable misstatement, and rodomontade effusions adapted only to mislead, mark the efforts of the Writers under our review: (p. 2—7, and passim.)—It has appeared, how clearly it is our duty to discountenance Popery on account of its notoriously unscriptural and dangerous *Doctrines*; what a *farce* the clamour respecting *Charity* and *Liberality* on such a subject is, and how intimate its connexion with Indifferentism and Infidelity; how this Catholic Relief Bill *baffles the talents* of its most illustrious Advocates; how worse than hopeless is the idea that Emancipation would benefit Ireland; what are the circumstances, and what the opinions, of the great body of the British Clergy, with regard to it: &c., &c., &c.: (p. 11, 47.)

By all these considerations together, then, Fellow-Protestants, and every other which the Subject fairly suggests: By all the consequences naturally to be expected from the *Principles* of Popery: By all the warnings afforded you in history of these principles “embodied in its *Actions*, as they have been exhibited in fire and written in blood:” By the blood of the *venerable founders* of the British Church, and that of *all the Millions of Protestants* of which, at different periods, the Church of Rome has been the guilty occasion; with the whole heart-rending series of tortures, cruelties, and unparalleled oppression and tyranny, by which this ar-

rogant "Mother and Mistress of all Churches," for many Centuries, afflicted the earth :—By the assurance, that the principles of this Church are "*unchanged, and unchangeable ;*" and only, therefore, opportunity wanting for a display of the same spirit in some modern style :—By your total disregard of the Professions and Oaths of those, who are previously bound by their Religion and most solemn Oaths to a diametrically opposite conduct ; and who can obtain absolution at pleasure :—By the just dread of a recurrence of those unceasing struggles for superiority by which this Kingdom was harassed when formerly Romanists were in possession of Political power :—By your own sense of the absurdity of *Popish* Counsellors for a *Protestant* King, and Church, and State :—By your experience of the *inefficacy* of *Concession*, and your becoming feelings in regard to arguments of *menace* :—By your religious obligations not to do *injustice* and *injury* to one class of men, and to the Public, to satisfy the *unreasonable* Demands of others :—By your respect for the opinion of those who on subjects connected with religion are entitled to your regard :—By the horrors witnessed in Europe within the last thirty years, of which the disgusting mummeries of Popery were the predisposing cause ; and the deplorable state of religion and morals in Papal Countries at this day :—By your proper estimate of your own unparalleled *civil* and *religious* privileges ; and your desire to transmit them unimpaired to your Posterity :—By your regard for the authority of Almighty God ; who says, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues :"—By *all these* considerations viewed conjointly, and each of them separately, I intreat you, to *oppose the project* for Protestant thralldom, under the guise of Catholic Emancipation.

Let the progress which this "most insidious, most mischievous, and most perilous political Question" has made in the British Senate, and with the British public, rouse you, at length, to a proper sense of your danger and your duty ; and

to exertions in discharging the one, commensurate with the impending evils of the other. Shew all kindness to the *persons* of Roman Catholics; but do not, either deluded by flattery or over-awed by faction, show indifference to the abominations connected with their *Doctrines*: Do not, absurdly, put into their hands a Sword, which Duty, not less than inclination and self-interest, will induce them to turn against yourselves.

But, Freeholders of the United Kingdom; Freemen of York, and of our other privileged Cities and Towns, on you more especially our Salvation or Ruin devolves. The ominous Measure before us, has been zealously advocated, and repeatedly passed, by your professed Representatives in the British Parliament. If this happens again, the blame will be yours. An appeal to your judgment will shortly be made; when, it is confidently hoped, your energetic Answer, that *you will not have the laws of the British Constitution changed*, will for a long period set the Question at rest. Do think, then, on the momentous responsibility you at this crisis owe to God, your Country, and Posterity.—Think on the unquestionable fact, how greatly this Country is indebted to our *excellent Protestant Constitution*, both for the unrivalled character and comforts of all ranks of its Inhabitants at home, and its proud pre-eminence among Nations; and what, therefore, would be the egregious folly of fundamentally changing or destroying it.—Think on the blessings of a Church built only “upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;” and which brings all its Doctrines to the test of God’s Word: compared with a system corrupted by the Uncertainties of Tradition, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Merits of Saints, the power of Indulgencies, and the efficacy of Purgatory.—Think on the blessings of the free use of the Bible, the right of private judgment in Religion, and liberty to worship your Maker accordingly: compared with the Papal treatment of the Holy Book, arrogant pretensions to the exclusive power

of interpreting it, and insufferable intolerance.—And, as you would not manifest an ingratitude for these blessings unworthy of their continuance; as you would not ungraciously compel another beloved King, after the example of his ever to be revered Father, to tell you emphatically that he will not violate his Conscience and his Coronation Oath; as you would not ruin by new-fangled projects in Peace, that Country which, a short time ago, most nobly and successfully defended the cause of Order and Religion throughout an unprecedented War; as you would not wish this Nation, as so many other Nations have done, “to drink of the Wine of the wrath of the fornications” of Rome; resolve to honour NO PERSONS *with your Votes* at the ensuing Election, who do not SOLEMNLY PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO OPPOSE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

Other suitable qualifications in Candidates for your Suffrages, you will not, as some persons in the plenitude of their superior *Charity* would insinuate, neglect to require: but Toryism and Whigism, and every other impending public Measure, being wholly insignificant in comparison of the Popish Question, this *stipulation* you will consider *essential*. And, tell these boasters of *liberality*, who never practice it, that while Encouragers of *Popery* their clamour on this head is absurd in the extreme: and that it is your genuine goodwill to all Denominations of your Fellow-Christians, which renders you so anxious to preserve them from the grasp of this Monster. Tell those who affirm that your apprehensions are groundless, for that Popery is now a perfectly *harmless*, and nearly *expiring* system, that they betray an equal ignorance of history, and of prophesy, and of what is doing at the present moment. Tell all Opponents, in short, that whatever difficulties may attend your measure of adherence to the present Constitution of this Country, *their* Nostrum would be a wilful and palpable admission of “fire into its bosom,” which *could* only be destructive.

And, Freeholders of Yorkshire ; allow me a parting word with you. For, who but the Revd. Sydney Smith, can attend local Political Meetings, make long Political Speeches, write violent Political Pamphlets, preach and publish highly Political Sermons ; get up, and sign, and be one of a party Deputation to present, Requisitions to a noble Lord, to come forward in opposition to other Candidates for your Suffrages ; charge those who differ from him in opinion with being "very weak," or "very artful men ;" and, "at all events," Supporters of "*all the foolish opinions, and all the bad passions, which prevail in their times ;*" and all this in the open day ; and then gravely tell you, he has "*not the most distant intention to interfere in local Politics*" ! !—It is yours, then, with becoming self-congratulation to reflect, that what your Country is among Nations, Yorkshire is among Counties ; the first in rank and honour : and that, consequently, much importance attaches not only to your conduct itself, but also to your example. How, then, can it be sufficiently deplored, that on the momentous Question before us, all this weight and influence has hitherto been thrown into the wrong scale ! Is it not high time you should take the matter into very serious consideration ? Your noble Representative, it is true, has acted consistently with his party, and his professions : But will you not be compelled to accuse his Honourable Colleague, who on other accounts deserves your high approbation, of forgetting his pledge to you on the Hustings, that he would advocate the cause of the Catholics no further than to a full *discussion*, unless the most *satisfactory Securities* could be provided for our Protestant Establishments ? For, what rational man will affirm, that any such Securities have been found ? Will you not convince Mr. Wortley, that he was indeed greatly mistaken when, as his Speech was reported in the public Papers, he affirmed in the House of Commons, that *your opinions were changed* in favor of Catholic Emancipation ?

Happily, an opportunity will soon be afforded such of you as wish not to desert the present Members, of neutralizing the mischievous effects of their Votes on the Catholic Question, by a proper choice of the two additional Representatives for the County. Happily, also, two of the Gentlemen who have generously complied with your Requisitions to them to allow themselves to be nominated Candidates for your Suffrages, are men on whom the fullest reliance may be placed. In the Heir-apparent of Duncombe Park, the Relative of a former highly respected Member for Yorkshire, you have a Candidate of tried Constitutional principles, of unquestionable talents, and with a large Stake in the County; an excellent private character, and a man of genuine and active benevolence. In Mr. Fountayne Wilson (although not yet like Mr. William Duncombe tried in Parliament) you have another Candidate possessing many similar recommendations, and much of the same genuine English and sterling worth. To such men, therefore, as the Organs of your wishes, the interests of your Religion, and County, and Country, may be confidently committed. Do not then regard the clamours and misrepresentations of party and faction; nor even the opinions of some better characters, who, not feeling any powerful influence of religion in their own case, sincerely undervalue its influence in the movements of others. Talk as some persons may of modern alterations and improvements, depend upon it, that *men* are still *men*, possessed of corrupt and bad passions; and, that *Popery* is still *Popery*, and can never, to any good purpose, amalgamate with Protestantism. Attend to the preceding Facts and Observations just so far as you find them warranted in truth: Read carefully the History of your Country: Study the nature of its Constitution: Learn your Religion in your Bibles: Exercise your own Reason and Common Sense: and, if not so already, assuredly you will become distinguished opposers of Catholic Emancipation.

Well, Sirs, do I remember the happy effects of your Example on a trying emergency during the late tremendous War. On this memorable occasion, public difficulties had accumulated, dangerous principles were propagated, Councils were divided, and the hearts of many leading Persons in the Kingdom ready to faint. Your opinion was solicited at a public Meeting of this County. You gave it as became a wise, loyal, and religious Community: and when, said your Representative who had attended the Meeting, (addressing you at a future period in the Castle Court,) I returned, and reported in the House of Commons, that the Freeholders of Yorkshire retained their good sense and honest principles, and were determined to continue their support to the measures of Government, the cloud dispersed, the friends of Order and Religion were cheered, and the whole aspect of affairs immediately brightened. On the present emergency then, again set an example equally worthy of yourselves and worthy of imitation: Again take a decisive lead in staying the plague, and saving your Country.

With this cordial Advice, and my most cordial Wishes, that civil, religious, personal, and all other blessings, may ever attend you, I remain,

Fellow-Protestants, and Freeholders,

Your faithful Friend and Brother,

An ENGLISH PROTESTANT.

2.

PAPAL PRETENSIONS ; *S.H.*

OR,

THE RIGHT

OF THE

Church of Rome to Power

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

AND TO

LEGISLATE

FOR ITS

PROTESTANT CHURCH AND PEOPLE,

BRIEFLY CONSIDERED ;

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCES TO THE OCCURRENCES

OF THE YEARS 1825 AND 1826 ;

AND

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME

ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUITS.

BY A LAYMAN.

"No man ought to be trusted with any share of power under a government who must, to act consistently with himself, endeavour the destruction of that very government."—*Lord Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Windham.*

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PAPAL PRETENSIONS,

&c. &c.

THE author of the following pages submits them to the consideration of the reader, in the hope that, out of the mass of evidence capable of being adduced, the few facts here brought together will be deemed sufficient to deserve the attention of the public. Had the Papal cause nothing but what it assumes as its "RIGHTS" to depend upon, the question might easily be determined ; but its arts and sophistry are more difficult to contend with. After being again and again defeated in the field of argument, its adherents boldly come forward and repeat, as new, what has been a hundred times answered : nay, they seem determined to harass us into a compliance, that, by sounding the same assertions continually in our ears, they may, at last, bring us to believe them true. Under such circumstances, silence, on our parts, would be a crime, and it is thought right not only to repeat arguments already

used, but to state additional facts as they have arisen. These will be found to be neither few nor unimportant, even in the last two years only: it is therefore hoped that the following pages will not be altogether useless in further elucidation of the question at issue.

The author is persuaded that the more generally the facts are known, the more firm and cordial will be the co-operation of the Protestant communion at large; and that hand and heart will be united in opposing the pretensions of Rome and her adherents. He pretends to no singular or peculiar attachment to the cause of the reformation, but cordially assents to the opinion of those who think with the late excellent prelate, the Bishop of Durham, that "if the reformation was worth establishing, it is also worth preserving." With these feelings, the following remarks are now offered to the reader's consideration.

The public has been in possession of the evidence taken before the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament, upon the state of Ireland, a sufficient time to be able to appreciate its importance; and although on some points it might have been usefully extended, it contains a mass of highly important information, and has placed the subject in a much more tangible shape than it was before. Of this evidence, a very laborious and masterly Digest has been published, (1)* by which its scope and tendency are analyzed in a perspicuous

* For Notes see the end of the work.

manner, the bearings of the questions considered, with much diligent search and inquiry, and the opinions of the several parties, as stated in their respective examinations, clearly developed.

There will be occasion, in the course of these observations, to allude to some of the facts elicited by this important investigation : but there is one which presses itself powerfully upon our consideration, and which cannot be too generally known. We have a virtual admission by the Romish prelates, that the papacy, in our land, is a *STATE*, as really an organized political power as the United Kingdom, that the oaths of its prelates are those of "*subjects*" to their sovereign, and that there is a cabinet council of cardinals *to regulate the affairs of Ireland*. The Irish prelates, in their turn, are invested with the office of vice-sovereigns, calling their flocks "*their subjects*;" and while their intercourse with the Court of Rome is always *confidential*, that with *their own* government is always *diplomatic*. The whole scope and tenor too of their language shows that they do not consider this as their country in the same sense as its Protestant inhabitants ; and while the Papists are clamorous to have all the privileges of Protestants, they strenuously refuse to bind themselves by any of the pledges or securities which Protestants give. They say the articles of their belief are known, and, therefore, that whatever is granted to them is with such a knowledge. It is upon this ground, and upon the facts now briefly alluded to, that it will be endeavoured, at the risk of unavoidable repetitions, to show that

these pretensions are totally unfounded and opposed to our dearest interests and happiness.

It is *power*, and not liberty, that the Roman Catholics seek. It is not *freedom* to worship God, (for that they already enjoy in the fullest extent,) but authority to govern men. Low indeed must we be sunk in the scale of intellect, if we were to see any thing but contradiction and inconsistency, to say no worse, in the harrangues of these Popish declaimers, these self-styled advocates for *liberty* and *liberality* of conduct! Could the *notables* who composed the Council of Trent rise from their graves and hear the language imposed upon us as Romanism, they would fancy either that jesuitism had attained supreme influence in this land, or that all the chains which they had laboured so hard to forge for other countries were burst. But let us not be deceived, liberty is not a plant that can thrive in a Popish soil—it is no where to be found where that religion predominates, and for this very plain reason, that the two cannot exist together. It has been justly compared to the tree of Java, in the extensive influence of its poisonous principles over the happiness of Ireland and of all other nations which are within its ecclesiastical dominion. Lord Shaftesbury truly observed, “Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand-in-hand; sometimes one goes first, sometimes the other, but wherever one enters, the other is always following close behind.”

Whence is this ceaseless cry—this restless striving? but from a thirst after power. It cannot be

misunderstood, however ingeniously masked under jesuitical sophistry, or unconnected, as it may appear to be, with the attainment of any other object but equality of civil rights. Can it be believed that nothing more is really aimed at than what is commonly understood by "*emancipation*?" That it is for this, that at one moment they vilify, threaten, and bully, and at another sooth and caress? No;—men do not take a sword to kill a worm, or a blunderbuss to bring down a fly. Power is not a toy that men will covet only to *play* with. Experience at home and the whole history of the Papal Church have sufficiently warned us that its invariable character is that of an ambitious, tyrannical, overbearing spirit. Power! power! give us power, is the united and unceasing cry of the adherents of Rome. How they have used it, the history of all countries sufficiently declares. How they continue to use it, as far as they dare to do so, we have many a melancholy proof before us, even at the present day; and, amidst all their clamorous pretensions, they take care to remind us that their Church is "*un-changeable*." In other words, that it is the same merciless, unrelenting Church as it always was! Thus warned, let our watchmen be at their posts, and the nation rise up as one man to oppose these monstrous pretensions.

It was observed by one, well qualified to judge, both by his talents and high station, that the *manner* in which the evidence of the Roman Catholic prelates was taken before the Committee, in itself discovered no small degree of policy. The nature of

the inquiry, says he, "appears to have been of that kind which is technically called 'leading questions,' such as almost to suggest the answers sought for, and such as those who were to furnish the answer might be supposed most willing to give. In this way nothing was easier than to frame a plausible representation of several articles of the Romish faith, and to give them such a colouring as might readily satisfy those who were possessed of no other information on the subject."—*Speech of Bishop Llandaff, 25th May, 1825.* It is really to be regretted that such an opportunity was lost to cross-examine the witnesses, which would have placed much of the evidence in a very different light.

Neither Mr. Butler, nor any of the Romish champions have ventured to offer a reply (2) to the able "Digest of the Evidence" already referred to. But it must not hence be supposed that they have been idle. Their pens have been employed in other ways, and such, doubtless, as, in their estimation, were better calculated to promote their views. We have accordingly been favoured with an "Address of the Catholics" (as they are here *misalled*) "of England to their Protestant Bretheren," signed by nine peers and fifty-nine commoners, all of the Romish Church.

We have, also, a declaration of the Catholic bishops, the vicars apostolic, and their coadjutors in Great Britain—one of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops: and, though last not least, another pastoral letter from Dr. Doyle.

These several productions are all directed to the same kind end, namely, to assure "the *" bigotted Protestants of this besotted country"* (3) that their Roman Catholic fellow subjects, in being refused all they require, have been hardly dealt with. They inform us that *their Church* is calumniated in being supposed to entertain any hostile views to this Protestant state. This bold novelty, which sets all history and all recorded facts at defiance, will be noticed hereafter ; let it suffice, for the present, to observe that, amidst all the ambiguity in which they are enveloped, they profess to lay down, as rules of faith, dogmas which they well know would not be acknowledged at Rome.

The address to the Protestant public refers to a certain " declaration drawn up and signed by " those ecclesiastics who, *in this country*, are the " expounders of their faith." But what says their Sovereign, the Pope, to these expounders? Has he sanctioned them? Every prelate that was examined before the houses of Parliament refer to him as his spiritual guide. Who then are these "*expounders*" that dare to speak without his authority?

Why will the Roman Catholic laity still pertinaciously cling to the chains which have so long kept the human mind, in every part of the papal world, in a state of bondage? Why, as in the present instance, will they countenance an unauthorized document, and hold it up to their Protestant brethren as one which may be depended upon, when they know perfectly well, that it may be,

and will be, disavowed by their Church whenever it shall be found convenient so to do? Is this fair dealing? Is it right? No excuse of ignorance can be set up, when we look at the parties who have subscribed one of these documents, as well as at those other individuals who, from the station they hold in their Church in these kingdoms, must necessarily have been concerned in drawing them up.

We might naturally inquire what is meant by "expounders of this faith" in this country? Are we expected to shut our eyes to the infamous decrees of the Council of Trent, or to the pure light which emanated from our reformers, who sealed the truth with their own blood? Choose, fellow Protestants, which you prefer, and abide by the decision! Are we now to learn that the faith of the Romish Church is *not* built upon a few unauthorized "expounders" in this country, but that it stands recorded in the decrees of councils, enveloped as they are in all the arts and mysteries of jesuitical casuistry?—In the bulls of the Popes, accompanied by all the anathemas of the Vatican against those who presume to impugn or alter them? They are infallible, and, therefore, unchangeable.

The testimony of Cardinal Pallavicino, a name of some authority, will prove the unalterable adherence of the Roman Church, to her principles, however she may occasionally vary from policy, or suffer her unaccredited members, for a time, to deviate from, or even deny them.—"The whole of our faith," says he, "exists upon one invariable article, namely, the

“ infallible authority of the Church. The moment, therefore, *we give up any part whatever*, the whole falls, for what admits not of being divided must evidently stand entire or fall entire.” What a *comfortable* prospect does this afford to the Protestant advocates of such a church who are endeavouring to extend its influence in this country!

These documents are issued by those who profess a strong veneration for their Church, whenever her aid may be required for the support of their own privileges; it is, therefore, the more worthy of notice to observe how studiously and artfully they have slurred over the doctrine of Papal infallibility: but we should also bear in mind that they were composed and very industriously circulated (4) to suit the palate and convey information to the *unenlightened* inhabitants of this Protestant country; or are we to understand, that this doctrine of infallibility has been abandoned? Perish the idea from the mind of a true Romanist! No, but it would have been unwise and *impolitic* to have made it a feature on *such* an occasion; and his *Holiness* will but have to exercise a power which has often been done by his predecessors, and pass it over with indulgence, knowing it was to promote the welfare of this mother Church,—this chameleon which can assume a new colour, form, and feature, whenever it suits her purpose. It has been well described by a competent judge: “ The Romish Catholic Church,” says the author, “ is a real Proteus when she wishes to withhold her oracles —she is now the Pope—she is next a Council :

“ by and by she is Pope and Council ; presently
 “ the Pope and the Council, as it happened
 “ at Basil, break into two halves, one orthodox
 “ and infallible, the other heretical and deceiv-
 “ ing. But those transmutations, like those
 “ of her fabled original, happen only when she
 “ finds herself in bonds, out of which she wishes
 “ to escape. I cannot conclude this point without
 “ urging on every English Protestant the necessity
 “ of adhering to the directions given in the case of
 “ the Pagan Proteus.

“ But thou, the more he varies form, beware
 “ To strain his fetters with a stricter care,
 “ Till turning all his arts, he turns again
 “ To his true shape, in which he first was seen.”

Letter of the Rev. J. B. White to Mr. Charles Butler.

Another end proposed in publishing these documents at that moment was to make out a plausible case for Popery on the eve of the elections, and to prepare for the scenes which were then to be exhibited. They complain, “ that the doctrines
 “ and religious rights which, as Catholics, they
 “ are taught by their Church to believe and ob-
 “ serve, have been long *grossly misconceived and*
 “ *misrepresented in this country*, to the great in-
 “ jury of their religious character and *temporal*
 “ interests.” Indeed ! But there is nothing new in all this, and often as the assertion has been repelled, by unanswerable arguments, we once more boldly maintain that the doctrines of their Church are too well understood to be “ *misconceived*,” and the

evils they have produced are too well established to be "*misrepresented*." We deny, also, that their "temporal interests" are injured. They participate in all the protection enjoyed by every subject of these realms. Let them learn not to abuse them.

The alleged grievances are the very same which were put forward, with sanguine hopes of success, in the reign of James II. when preparations were actively made to give effect to their principles; and while the plan of the crafty and insidious Bousset was industriously propagated for representing the religious system of the Romish Church, under such colours as to disguise its most objectionable parts from Protestants. This scheme was exposed in a masterly manner, by Dean Sherlock, just before the Revolution in 1688, and it is here given nearly in his own words:—

" This has been an other *late* artifice of our Roman adversaries, to amuse ignorant people with a noise of *misrepresenting*: that Protestant Divines have painted Popery, so as to disturb the imaginations of people; and to beget an incurable aversion in them against Popery, *without understanding what it is*.

" I ask them whether the *first Reformers* charged the Church of *Rome* with such doctrines and practices as they were not guilty of? We have *not increased* our charge against the Church of *Rome*, in this age. If there has been any difference, we have been rather more favourable in our censures of some of their doctrines, than the first Reformers were. Now, is it at all likely

“ that the *first Reformers* should charge the Church
 “ of *Rome* wrongfully? No man can be a mis-
 “ representer, but from ignorance or design: which
 “ of these can we, with any probability, charge the
 “ *first Reformers* with?

“ As for *ignorance*—is it probable that LUTHER,
 “ MELANCTHON, BUCER, CALVIN, &c. &c. or to
 “ come to our own English Reformers, that Arch-
 “ bishop CRANMER and others, WHO HAD ALL
 “ BEEN PAPISTS THEMSELVES, should be IGNO-
 “ RANT of what was taught and practised in the
 “ Church of *Rome*?—But the Popish Doctors now
 “ think proper to ask—Can you think that the
 “ Papists do not understand their own religion
 “ better than Protestants do? Now (1st) I am apt
 “ to think there are more Protestants than Papists
 “ who understand Popery; and for this plain rea-
 “ son, because it is the principle of Protestants,
 “ that they must neither believe nor disbelieve any
 “ thing *without understanding it*: but AN IMPLICIT
 “ FAITH IN THE CHURCH governs the unlearned
 “ Papists, and many of those who should be learned
 “ too.”

“ But let that be as it will, this argument cannot
 “ apply to our *first Reformers*; for, if Papists may
 “ be presumed to understand their own religion,
 “ the first Reformers, *educated in Popery*, some of
 “ them highly informed Popish Ecclesiastics, must
 “ have understood what Popery was; and there
 “ can be no reason to suppose that *they* misrepre-
 “ sented Popery out of *ignorance*.“

“ Nor is it more probable that they should have

“ done so from interest and design. What hope
 “ could they have that, *at that time when Popery*
 “ *was so well and generally known*, they should per-
 “ suade the world to believe their *misrepresenta-*
 “ *tions?*

“ Was it desirable for men to bring all the powers
 “ of the great Church and Court of *Rome* upon
 “ themselves, merely to gratify a misrepresenting
 “ humour? Do these men who now tell us that
 “ Popery has been so misrepresented, remember
 “ that some of our leading first Reformers, who
 “ exposed the vices and dangers of the Popish
 “ system, suffered, for their opposition to Popery,
 “ the loss of their estates, their liberties, their lives
 “ —all the vengeance of an enraged zeal? And
 “ did they undergo all this, with such constancy
 “ and Christian patience, only for the sake of telling
 “ lies, and raising scandalous reports of the Church
 “ of *Rome*? We think it a very good argument,
 “ that the APOSTLES AND FIRST TEACHERS OF
 “ CHRISTIANITY were very honest men, and had
 “ no design to cheat the world, because they
 “ served no worldly interest by it, but cheerfully
 “ exposed themselves to all manner of sufferings
 “ in preaching the Gospel: and the same argument
 “ will prove our *first Reformers* honest men; and
 “ then, they could not be wilful misrepresenters.

“ Even if we allow them to have been men of
 “ the most ordinary cunning (and it is evident they
 “ did not want wit—and their Popish adversaries
 “ never describe them as wanting cunning), they
 “ would not have undertaken so hopeless a design,

“ as to run down Popery by *misrepresenting* it ;
 “ when, if their objections were misrepresentations,
 “ all the world could have confuted them. Had
 “ the *first Reformers* been only *misrepresenters*, is
 “ it possible they should have imposed upon such
 “ vast numbers of men, learned as well as unlearned,
 “ who knew and saw what Popery was ? They were
 “ no fools themselves, and therefore could not have
 “ hoped to impose such a cheat upon the world.

“ But, how old is this complaint of *Protestant*
 “ *Misrepresentations* of Popery ? How long has it
 “ been discovered that Popery has been thus abused
 “ and misrepresented ? WERE THE FIRST REFOR-
 “ MERS CHARGED WITH THESE MISREPRESENTA-
 “ TIONS BY THEIR ADVERSARIES IN THOSE DAYS ?
 “ —or did not those adversaries endeavour to de-
 “ fend the tenets and practices objected to, and to
 “ answer the arguments of the first Reformers ?
 “ And yet, methinks, if Popery has been so grossly
 “ misrepresented by the Reformers, this would as
 “ soon have been discovered by the learned Papists
 “ of those days, as by our present Popish Doctors.
 “ But the learned Papists of those days knew that
 “ the system was not misrepresented, otherwise
 “ they certainly would have urged this, and have
 “ done so effectually at that time. Thus the com-
 “ plete improbability, or rather impossibility, of the
 “ thing may be sufficient reason to unlearned Pro-
 “ testants to reject this charge of Protestant mis-
 “ representations of Popery, as nothing else but a
 “ Popish calumny against Protestants ; and to con-
 “ clude, that *if Popery be misrepresented now*, it is

“ only by certain Popish Doctors themselves, for their own end:—and that is the very truth of the case.”

The Jesuits (always the ready agents for promoting discord) had, at this same period, privately presented to James II. their memorial, for “ a *perfect reformatum*,” as they called it, which consisted in a plan for *re-enacting* all the persecuting, tyrannical, and sanguinary laws formerly existing against those whom they called *heretics*, (i. e. Protestants.) A declaration issued by the French clergy, denying all temporal authority to the Pope, in that kingdom, was anathemized, and the authors were branded with heresy and rebellion.

The address from the Catholics of England says, “ Every principle or practice hostile in the remotest degree to the institutions of the country we most explicitly disclaim. Year after year we repeat the humiliating task of disavowal, &c.” To which we reply, by expressing an ardent hope, that they will accompany the *word* with the *deed*, really renouncing all connexion with the Court of Rome, in which case, political differences would cease. If the Popedom were abolished, so far as respects the Roman Catholic subjects of these Protestant realms, then there would be no interference of a foreign power: or, if the Roman Catholics of this day really do not hold the opinions which are to be found in the acts of their councils, and in their catechisms, let them be formally and publicly disavowed, and abrogated by the Pope and a general council.

“ If you could be brought,” says Judge Blackstone, “ to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, “ you might quietly enjoy your seven sacraments “ your purgatory, and auricular confessions— “ your worship of images and relics, nay, even “ your transubstantiation ; but while you *acknowledge a foreign power* (5) superior to the sovereignty of this kingdom, you cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat you on the footing of good subjects.”

Another feature observable in these productions is the unremitting efforts that are used to assure us that Popery is no longer *what it was*, and that it is unjust to impute to them the errors and crimes of the dark ages. This, also, is but a repetition of what has been urged and replied to again and again. But how are those bold assertions supported by facts? and how *can* they be true in an *unchangeable* church? Many of their dogmas are the invention of the dark ages, of which they are well worthy ; but they are upheld to THIS DAY. Need we go to a remote period to prove the arrogant pretensions, impious doctrines, and galling tyranny of this church? We have only to look at the decrees of councils of Constance and Lateran, and those of Trent. That all these form an integral part of the Church of Rome, at this day, is certain. In the oath taken by the Pope, at his installation, he swears to observe every tittle of the decrees of the General Councils, and to “ defend the faith delivered by them to blood.” Now, it was the council of Constance which burnt alive John Huss

and Jerome of Prague. It ordained the confiscation of the property of heretics; their slavery, by their kings and lords, and their utter excommunication from all help or intercourse of man. The third canon of the council of Lateran declared, that "all oaths against the Church of Rome were "perjuries." These, and many other similar unchristian laws remain in force, to be acted upon according to time and circumstances. (6)

That the same views and principles continue to be the rule and conduct of that church, at periods less remote, is too fearfully recorded in blood, by the never-to-be-forgotten massacre of St. Bartholomew; (7) by the persecutions in our own country, in the reign of Mary; by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, the massacres of the Protestants in France; and, within our own recollection, by the rebellion in Ireland. (8) Did all these horrors occur in the dark ages? No; Popery scorns the imputation of change.

What say the men of our day, and in our country? Dr. Troy, the late titular archbishop of Dublin, tells us, "that the religious opinions of the "Roman Catholics, being *unchangeable, are applicable to all times.*" And Mr. Plowden, an admitted authority, in his work on Church and State, says, "If any one will pretend to insinuate that "modern Roman Catholics differ *in one iota* from "their ancestors, he either deceives himself, or "wishes to deceive others." These are not the mere opinions of individuals, they are founded upon the creed of their church. *Semper eadem* is empha-

tically descriptive of their religion. So much for *improved Popery* in the 19th century! And what says Mr. O'Connell, in explanation of obedience to the Pope? He tells us, that *his opposition* would only be directed against *his Holiness*, "*in case he set his hostile foot in Ireland!!!*" But if his Holiness should issue his spiritual mandates from Rome, then all Papists would be bound to obey, for the good of the church. We are also indebted to Dr. Doyle for some important information on the same subject. He says, that "if a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would be fulminated by a Catholic prelate." And, again, "That the Catholics possessed of property, in Ireland, will not render any efficient services to government, *should eventful times occur*; that from such men the government has only to expect defiance or open hostility." What *cheering* language for our Protestant advocates, who are urging us to give additional power to men who dare to utter such sentiments!

It would be endless to bring forward proofs of the unchristian and persecuting tenets by which the Church of Rome upholds her influence at this very day. Protestantism has, blessed be God, never wanted able defenders, both in and out of the Established Church, from the days of the Reformation to the present time; and hence we have been enabled to add to its former champions many powerful advocates (9) of the truth, whom the recent discussions have called forth.

The late declaration of the English vicars apos-

tolie, (10) and of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, contain many points, which are not to be reconciled by any thing short of jesuitical ingenuity. The former, speaking of a divided allegiance, endeavour to conceal the fact, by saying "the office of teaching the doctrines of *faith* and the sacraments" is purely *ecclesiastical* in *spiritual* matters. But history tells us that these were the very watchwords of the massacres of the Protestants in France, Italy, and elsewhere; the "conferring and exercising *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction" was the manifesto of the long and bloody wars between the papal vassals and the German empire. The very question of investitures, which produced the faction of the Guelphs and the Ghibbellines, was, in fact, the question of the supremacy of the Pope, and the same which had been so long agitated by England and *his Holiness*,—the appointment of the Roman bishops; all this was then called, and is *now*, in the *simplicity* of this recent Popish declaration, *again* called, purely *ecclesiastical*.

But these were the works of darkness which the Church of Rome has abandoned. Such is the cry; such are the speeches of the deceived and the giddy advocates amongst ourselves! They are, however, very far from being the real sentiments or feelings of the *TRUE* Romanists. Another specious argument is, that the Pope has now no power. To this it may be replied, that the *individual* power of the Pope was nothing, when he subjugated Europe, and plunged it in desolation. But we know the power of his *name*, to rouse the ignorant to acts of

atrocities, to dissolve the common bands of society, to arm the subject against his sovereign, and the citizen against his benefactor; and of this we have had recent instances, which furnish lessons full of instruction and warning.

The declaration denies that, in keeping up their intercourse with Rome, they can ever have any but spiritual objects. Compare this with Mr. Plunkett's Bill, in 1821. He had introduced a clause that "every priest shall swear that he will not have any correspondence or communication with the See of Rome, or with any authority under that See, tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant Government or the Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant Church of Scotland, as by law established." Could a more reasonable test have been required, *if* such a boon was to be granted? But mark what followed: Mr. Plunkett's Bill was contemptuously rejected by the Irish priesthood, and Mr. O'Connell, in a letter addressed to the Irish Roman Catholics, throws great light upon the subject. He asks, "Can the priests take this oath without incurring a great breach of duty? It strikes my mind," says he, "that they cannot take the oath at all. AS FAR AS RELATES TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCH, IT APPEARS TO INTERPOSE FRIGHTFUL DIFFICULTIES:" and surely, such a declaration is well calculated to rouse "FRIGHTFUL" apprehensions in the mind of every Protestant at the thought of such men being admitted into an equal share of privileges with

ourselves; nay, to legislate for that very Protestant Church, of which they dare thus to speak.

It has been well observed "that, of all fallacies, none appear more palpable, more egregious, than that which regards spiritual authority, as altogether unconnected with temporal. Theoretically, indeed, they are distinct, but practically, and in most cases, it is hardly possible to unite them. Bellarmine says, 'like the soul and 'body,' though each have special qualities and special interests of its own, yet they act one upon the other by mutual co-operation, and affect each other by mutual influence. It may be easy to say, this is a spiritual right and that is a temporal right—this is an exercise of civil power, that of ecclesiastical;—but when you come to apply this to individual cases, they will be found to be so blended together, as to render their separation always difficult, and sometimes impracticable." (11)

In conclusion, we should bear in mind, that the declaration of the Roman Catholic Bishops and profession of their faith contain no reference to the authorities on which it is founded. There is not a single appeal to councils, creeds, or any ACCREDITED sources of information on this important subject. It is a simple declaration entirely devoid of proof; and, as has been already observed, in many parts at variance with the sanctioned and avowed articles of the Church of Rome. But may there not have been some policy in the omission? Councils, creeds, &c. are frightful

things—they might have alarmed some of us *unenlightened* Protestants, especially in a document which was to be, and has been, so industriously circulated, for the purpose of persuading us that Popery is *not now* such as those councils have decreed, that it shall remain UNALTERABLY.

As a case in point.—Will it be maintained that the right of nomination to the bishoprics and preferments in England and Ireland is purely spiritual? As well might it be pretended that the avowed interference of the priesthood in the Irish elections is purely of a spiritual character: and yet we are required to believe that the only power exercised by that Church is of a spiritual kind. (12)

A circumstance has lately occurred, which is well deserving notice:—The Right Reverend Dr. Collins, at a late meeting, is represented as boldly asserting, that “the time and frame
“ of the declaration might be subject to the revision of higher ecclesiastical power, but the substance of the doctrine was irrevocable. It was
“ the authentic repetition of the tenets sanctioned by ages. When a doctrine was preached, taught,
“ and promulgated by episcopal authority, without reclamation on the part of the Church, it
“ became, or rather was proved to be, the doctrine of the Church, and no power in the Church
“ could condemn it.” This is another of those daring statements made in a Protestant country, and to a Protestant people. Let these vicars apostolic, for example, put forth their sounding disclaimer to any title or pretension to the property of

the Established Church. What are we to expect when we are told that the disclaimer is nothing new, but merely a repetition of *the doctrine sanctioned by ages?* The truth is, they are at a loss what to say of the conflicting claims of Episcopal and Papal authority in their Church. The time, mode, and frame of the declaration may, they say, be disavowed, but the doctrines are irrevocable. These are "the tenets sanctioned by ages," and does not the history of our own country, without going any farther, give us a faithful picture of what they are? But who, amidst all these windings between declarations and doctrines, disavowals and irrevocabilities, is to determine what is to be disavowed and what "must be irrevocable?" The supreme authority of the whole Church,—and what then becomes of Dr. Collins, who thus easily pretends to settle the chief point of contention, but who leaves it just where it was, in conformity to the constant practice of this Church, in any case of difficulty; relying upon time and circumstances to accomplish, at some future period, what cannot now be brought about.

Dr. Collins's dogma has, also, been subjected to an awkward charge of inconsistency, to say the least of it, by the appearance of a book, entitled "*Sister Nativité*," published nine years ago, by the editor, or more properly *the author*, Abbé Genet, under the authority of all the English vicars apostolic, (13) and a host of French bishops and dignitaries. This extraordinary production, from its impious tendency, drew down upon it

some severe and just animadversions from the Quarterly Review. That redoubtable champion Mr. C. Butler, always ready to defend the orthodoxy of his church, and the miraculous powers it still possesses, condescended to write a pamphlet, in which he is far from impeaching the credibility of *Sister Nativité's* romance; but he inform us that the work is not to be understood as in accordance with the feeling of the Papal Church! Thus does this gentleman, "at one fell swoop," set aside the authority of the vicars apostolic, and the French bishops and dignitaries, under whose direct sanction it was published. Mr. Butler does not even believe that the existence of the book is known at Rome!

Here, then, is not only a strange difference among the doctors, but another proof, among many, that it is impossible to unravel the mazes and intricacies in which the Romish Church is involved; they place, in fact, as it is wished, an insuperable bar to the knowledge of any thing they desire to disguise, or of any line of conduct from which they may hereafter find it expedient to retract.

Dr. Doyle, in his evidence before the House of Lords, gives another instance of these latitudinarian maxims. When speaking of the inviolable secrecy imposed upon the priest in auricular confession, he says, "As our right of confession is known to the laws, and our doctrines with regard to it are universally acknowledged to exist in our church, the oath which binds us to discover any treason against the state or against

“ his Majesty, which may come to our knowledge,
 “ *does not oblige us to reveal any thing* with which
 “ we may become acquainted in sacramental con-
 “ fession. That is the manner in which *we under-*
 “ *stand* the clause of the oath.”(14)—These are nice
 and ingenious distinctions indeed, allowing a most
 dangerous and indefinable construction, and open-
 ing a wide door to all kinds of mental reservation.
 The same may be said of any other objectionable
 points: and it cannot be forgotten that it was
 under the cloak of the very doctrine here alluded
 to that the detestable crimes and conspiracies of
 Campian and Garnett in our own country were
 concealed: nor have these wretches been without
 their apologists among the Roman Catholics of our
 day! When so little agreement exists among their
 own writers on the subject, how can it be pretend-
 ed that the dogmas and doctrines of the Romish
 Church are known to, and acknowledged by the
 laws of this country? Experience has taught us
 sufficient of their tendency and practical effects to
 show why their further claims should be resisted.
 Is not enough written in blood to suffice us? and
 who will presume to limit the dire consequences
 that must follow the application of such interpreta-
 tions as are given to them?

With the most innocent simplicity, the reverend
 persons who promulgate the declaration, (15) ex-
 press themselves totally “ at a loss to comprehend
 “ why doctrines, purely religious, in no ways af-
 “ fecting the duties which they owe to their
 “ sovereign, or to civil society, should be brought

“ forward at all, when the question relates only
 “ to the civil rights and privileges which they
 “ claim as British subjects.” To this it has been
 briefly answered, “ These doctrines are brought
 “ forward against them when they urge their
 “ claims, because they have an intimate and inse-
 “ parable connexion with their civil and religious
 “ duties, as affecting, directly and inevitably, the
 “ duties which they owe to the sovereign and to
 “ civil society.” The question between us has
 been thus plainly stated, “ Will the Roman Catho-
 “ lic subjects of these realms acknowledge the
 “ King’s supremacy in all cases, and over all per-
 “ sons, ecclesiastical as well as civil?—Will they
 “ allow that the Pope has no spiritual jurisdiction
 “ in these realms?—Will the Pope relinquish his
 “ claim to appoint the clergy and to rule them?—
 “ Will he forego his superintendence over them in
 “ their respective diocesan or pastoral characters,
 “ or surrender such points as may interfere with
 “ the jurisprudence of this country?” Surely no
 symptom of a disposition to do this has appeared
 either in the Pope or those bound in allegiance to
 him. And, *therefore, theirs can only be a divided*
allegiance, which disqualifies them for such an
 extension of privileges as those of their fellow-sub-
 jects who do not labour under similar disqualifi-
 cations.

For the further information of these single-
 minded prelates, a few extracts will be transcribed
 from the ecclesiastical code of this country, as it
 stood previously to the reformation; and let us re-

member that they are still binding upon the conscience of all TRUE Roman Catholics, as they have not been abrogated by any authority which they would recognize.

“ 1. He that acknowledgeth not himself to be
 “ under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop
 “ of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy
 “ over all the world, is a heretic, and cannot be
 “ saved, and is not of the flock of Christ.

“ 2. The Bishop of Rome hath authority to
 “ judge all men, but no man hath authority to
 “ judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that
 “ he hath judged ; neither emperor, king, people,
 “ nor the clergy. And it is not lawful for any
 “ man to dispute his power.

“ 3. Princes’ laws, if they be against the canons
 “ and decrees of the Bishop of Rome, are of no
 “ force nor strength.

“ 4. All kings, bishops, and noblemen, that
 “ suffer the Bishop of Rome’s decrees in any
 “ thing to be violated, are accursed, and for ever
 “ culpable before God, as transgressors of the
 “ Catholic faith.

“ 5. The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate
 “ emperors and princes, depose them from their
 “ states, and assoil (absolve) their subjects from
 “ their oath and obedience to them.

“ 6. He is no man-slayer that slayeth a man
 “ which is excommunicated.

“ 7. There can be no council of bishops without the authority of the See of Rome.

“ 8. The Bishop of Rome may open and shut
 “ heaven unto men.

“ 9. It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome to judge which oaths to be kept and which not.

“ 10. The See of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, and cannot err.”

To prove that the spirit of intolerance has not subsided in our day, we give the following declaration of his Holiness :—

“ La protection jurée, et si vantée du Souverain des Français pour les cultes, n'est autre chose qu'un pretexte et qu'une couleur pour autoriser la puissance séculière à s'immiscer dans les affaires spirituelles ; puisqu'en montrant du respect pour toutes les sectes avec toutes leurs opinions, toutes leur coutumes, et toutes leurs superstitions, le gouvernement Français ne respecte en effet aucun droit, aucune institution, aucune loi de la religion Catholique.” *The pastoral letter of the Pope, dated 22d May, 1808, from Correspondence authentique de la Cour de Rome avec la France, Paris, 1814.* After such a document, what can we say to the high-sounding and empty professions of Popish liberality, which are constantly imposed upon the British public ?

The declaration of faith of the vicars apostolic charges us with wilfully misrepresenting their religion, when we describe it as “ erroneous and unscriptural.” They also complain that “ they are exhibited as enemies to the circulation and reading of the Scriptures ;” whereas, say they, “ the Catholic Church *venerates* the Holy Scriptures as the *written part* of the Word of God.” They then add, that “ the Catholic Church has

“ never forbidden or discouraged the reading or
 “ the circulation of the Scriptures in *the original*
 “ *language;*” and that there “ never was a *gene-*
 “ *ral* law of the Catholic Church prohibiting the
 “ reading of authorized translations of the Scrip-
 “ tures.”

Doubtless, the word ‘ *general,*’ here introduced, is not without its meaning. But how do these assertions accord with the tendency of the fourth rule of the Council of Trent, “ *De libris prohibitis?*” It “ says, let it be at the pleasure of the bishop and “ the inquisitor, with advice of the parish clerk, or “ confessor, to grant the reading of the Scriptures, “ translated by Catholic authors, *to those, who, in* “ *their opinion,* will not receive injury, but an in- “ crease of faith and piety thereby. This license “ let them have *in writing,* and *whoever presumes,* “ *without permission, to read or possess such bibles,* “ *may not receive remission of sins* till he has re- “ turned them to the ordinary.” What ought we to think of the declaration of these vicars apostolic, and their pretended encouragement of the circulation of the Scriptures, in contradiction to this unchristian and tyrannical decree of the Church? But, bad as it is, it has been outdone by a Romish Irish Bishop, in *this* enlightened age. The well known J. K. L. made a public panegyric upon a poor ignorant Irish labourer for having sacrilegiously taken up the Sacred Volume with the kitchen tongs, and buried it in his garden! At the Council of Trent, a prelate called the Bible “ *atramen-*” “ *tum mortuum,*” *dead ink.* Another said, “ scrip-

“ tura est res inanimis et muta,” *a dumb inanimate thing*; and a third, impiously mentioned the Sacred Volume as, “ nigrum evangelium,” *the black gospel*.—(Lodovicus in Concilio Tridentino.) St. Chrysostom, more than 1100 years before the Council of Trent, says “ heretics close the gates “ of truth, well knowing that *if they were kept “ open, the Church would be no longer theirs;*” which completely establishes the Romish as an Heretical Church. It was observed by Bishop Atterbury, that the “ strongest arguments that can “ be produced against Popery are the Bible and “ the Fathers.”

We learn that the Roman Catholics of England, of mature years, have permission to read authentic and *approved* translations of the Holy Scriptures, with explanatory notes; and they are exhorted to read them in a spirit of piety, humility, and *obedience*—doubtless, the *obedience* here meant is to their Church, and not the obedience taught in the Word of God. But let them speak for themselves, as far as they are disposed to do so. Soon after, they tell us that “ the exercise of private judgement in reading the Scriptures is calculated to lead men to contradictory doctrines and “ inconsistent forms of worship,” &c. The Committee of Irish education takes a far more correct view of this subject, in plain, intelligible language. “ We would say to the gentry, educate the people. “ —Take up their schools.—Let all be placed upon “ a proper footing—the mere instruction of letters “ will not do—*mere moral teaching will not do—*

“ RELIGION only will reach this deeply-rooted
 “ disease. Take care that they are imbued with
 “ the spirit of Christianity. *Let them have the writ-*
 “ *ten Word of God*—this is new to them—it will
 “ do much of itself.—You will be opposed, but
 “ not always, and you will succeed if you perse-
 “ vere.—Do this, but do not expect an instantane-
 “ ous result. Be patient, and be satisfied that
 “ the good effects are certain—that they will come
 “ in due time, and give peace to the country, and
 “ security to property, and stability to the founda-
 “ tion of society.”

With all the labour and artifices used in the document under consideration, it is plain that the Word of God is not permitted to be read by the laity—the clergy, indeed, are, in general, very ignorant of it, and neither can be said to obey the injunction to “search the Scriptures.” The defence, if it can be so called, offered by the English Roman Catholics, in our enlightened days, on the subject of the circulation and reading the Scriptures, weak and puerile as it must appear to us, is what their hierarchy would not dare to promulgate, in countries where the influence of the Church of Rome is predominant; (16) and true it is, that the fear of England checks the Romish sword, ready to fall upon the heads of the little Christian communities that still exist in the north of Italy, in France, and Switzerland. May it please the Almighty to continue to us, the high privilege of being the instrument of good in this holy cause!

But, lest the meagre concessions put forth in the declarations, &c. should obtain any influence, we are favoured with another of those productions, called Pastoral Letters, from Dr. Doyle, in which he treats the circulation of the Scriptures with Popish candour, but with little reverence. This doughty politician and theologian, writes in the spirit and bearing of a dominican of the 15th century, boldly unfurling the standard of ignorance. After pouring forth his indignation upon "the Protestants who have strayed or been seduced from the fold," and heaping upon them every insult which language can convey, this mild Christian Prelate turns round to the religious societies, with increased venom,—they are hypocrites, liars, sowers of discord; and, then he adds, "they produce more crimes in Ireland than the white boys, or even the Orangemen." Contrast this with the Report of the Hibernian Society on the same subject, and that it is far more true no reasonable man will doubt. It says, "the Bible Schools have done more to tranquillize and restore peace to Ireland than all the laws that have been enacted."

But why does not the learned Doctor inform us in what these "*crimes*" consist? The reason is obvious, and we will endeavour to supply this deficiency. It consists in a fearful conviction that a knowledge of the Scriptures among their "*subjects*" would infallibly lead to throwing off the galling yoke under which they are now living, and that an "*emancipation*" would follow, from the crimes and misfortunes to which a naturally generous,

cheerful, and brave people are reduced, by the ruinous influence of Papal superstition.

“ If the Bible be true, Popery is a false and unscriptural system. If Popery be true, the Bible is erroneous. The Irish Priests are resolved, at all hazards, to uphold Popery, and, therefore, the Bible must be proscribed. These men seem to be actuated by that instinctive dislike to the Word of God which animals feel to their natural enemies.”

The Papists may and do freely traverse this Protestant land for proselytism : but the very circulation of the Bible is to be interdicted in Ireland, because it suits not the interests of this proverbially secular church ; thus, as it has been well said, she expects all the reciprocity shall be on one side. What a clamour would be raised if the accumulated insults offered in Ireland to our Church, our clergy, our eminent men, (who possess the confidence and esteem of the nation,) and our constitution, were to be retorted in Protestant England against the busy artful wiles of the Jesuits at Stoneyhurst, and their coadjutors ? While they, denominating us as *fanatics*, are the managers, or the dupes, of a series of theatrical miracles performed by a German Doctor ; and of the wild reveries of a Romish Bishop, (17) under a fictitious name, in the character of a prophet ! The sum and substance of all this clamour is, that *they dread the Bible*, and wish they had the power of persecuting those who derive their religion from

the Bible, as the Pagans of old persecuted and opposed the first Christians.

Dr. Doyle is well aware of all this. He knows, also, that while, on the one hand, the Bible is proscribed to his "*subjects*," that the Priests encourage the sale of obscene and other books of the worst tendency, at all the stalls and fairs. The hatred manifested by the Romanists against Bible Societies (and it cannot be too often repeated) is because they assail, in the most fatal manner, the power of the hierarchy, which can only continue to exist, so long as the people are kept in ignorance of the word of truth. What care such men for Catholic Emancipation, but as it may contribute to the triumph of their Church? This triumph is their all-in-all. It is the foundation of a *divided* allegiance to their lawful Prince, as in like manner the constrained celibacy of their clergy (18) creates a *divided* interest in the community, and leads to feelings of a selfish and exclusive kind. So that it may be truly said, that it has, probably, given birth to a greater portion of human guilt and suffering than any other restrictions, religious or civil, that ever were imposed upon mankind. They have no children to become judges or members of parliament, and the grasp after power is for the sole purpose of employing it for the subjugation of the human mind.

Let Dr. Doyle once more speak for himself, in one short passage from his pastoral letter: "Our pride," says he, "as a people, our duty as pa-

“*rents* and pastors, our religion as Christians, all
 “ require us to discard, for ever those odious and
 “ Anti-Catholic (he means Anti-Papal) Bible So-
 “ cieties. To calculate or estimate the degree of
 “ their malice or folly, respectively, as concerns us,
 “ is quite unnecessary. They are all founded on the
 “ same principle of licentiousness in religion ; and
 “ no modification of such a principle can ever fit
 “ it for an association of right reason with true
 “ religion, nor, *consequently*, with the Catholic
 “ Church.” The Doctor means the Church of
 Rome. This, it must be confessed, is bold speak-
 ing to a Protestant people, who rest all their future
 hopes of happiness upon the truths contained in the
 book here proscribed : and how is this unmeasured
 freedom of language to be reconciled with the de-
 claration just referred to, or even with that which
 has been put forward by some of their vociferous
 advocates, who assert that they are “ an oppressed,
 “ proscribed, and tortured people ?”

Well may a powerful and eloquent defender of our
 faith, (19) exclaim in his lately published masterly
 work, “ You wish that Protestants or Romanists
 “ would abstain from contention and unite in
 “ defence of one common Christianity. We dare
 “ not abstain from the contention. The tares are
 “ mingled with the wheat, and though both must
 “ grow up together till the harvest, the Protestant
 “ labourer must encourage the one, and guard
 “ against the other. Scarcely is our Christianity
 “ common. The Scriptures, which teach us our
 “ rules of worship, our seals of faith, our modes of

“ discipline, essentials, and non-essentials, are all
 “ different. We cannot walk together unless we
 “ be agreed; we cannot agree unless one be re-
 “ formed. *Idem velle, et idem nolle, ea demum*
 “ *firma amicitia.*”

But the determination of the Romish Church not to give the Scriptures to the community is of long standing. When Wickliffe performed the noble work of translating the Bible, it was loudly clamoured against by the clergy of that period. The reasoning on this subject, by a learned Canon of Leicester, a contemporary of Wickliffe, and if not an ancestor of Dr. Doyle, at least, a kindred soul, was considered *very good* at the time, and we know it is still held to be so by the Doctor and his colleagues. It runs thus :—

“ Christ committed the gospel to the doctors and
 “ clergy of the church, that they might minister it
 “ to the laity and weaker persons, according to
 “ exigency of times and person’s wants. But this
 “ Master Wickliffe has translated it out of Latin
 “ into English, and by that means has laid it more
 “ open to the laity and to women, who could read,
 “ than it would be to the most learned of the clergy,
 “ and those of them who had the best understand-
 “ ing. And so the gospel pearl is cast about and
 “ trodden under swine, and that which used to be
 “ precious both to clergy and laity, is made, as it
 “ were, the common jest of both, and the jewel of
 “ the church is turned into the sport of the laity.”
 Dr. Doyle might have written this himself, as far as the doctrine is concerned : but, with all its faults, it

possesses one feature which that reverend gentleman too often discards, namely, good temper.

What says an early and powerful defender of the Protestant cause on this subject? "We have translated the Sacred Volume into many languages: they (the Papists) scarcely suffer it to exist in ONE. We invite the people to hear and read the word: they drive them away. We are desirous that every person should comprehend the cause of our controversy: they shrink from all inquiry. We rely upon the power of knowledge: they of ignorance. We trust to light: they to darkness. We venerate, as we ought, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets: they burn them. In a word, we, in the cause of God, are willing to stand or fall by God's judgement, they allow no judge in their cause but themselves." Bishop Jewell's Apology with an admirable Preliminary Discourse and Notes, by the Reverend Stephen Isaacson.

The following is another modern specimen, of which there are so many, to prove their hostility to the circulation of the Scriptures. A rescript was issued by the late Pope Pius VII. dated 29th June, 1815, to the Primate of Poland, which contains the following passages upon Bible Societies: "We have been truly shocked at this most crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined." Again, "First you are to expose the wickedness of this nefarious scheme, and openly publish the same *according to the rules of the Church*; namely, That Bibles printed by

“ heretics are numbered among prohibited books,
 “ agreeable to the rules of the Index, No. 2 and 3.”
 In another rescript to the Archbishop of Mohileff,
 dated 3d September, 1816, his Holiness thus ex-
 presses himself, that, “ in conformity to the decrees
 “ of the Council of Trent, you should sincerely and
 “ plainly teach that the Christian truth and doc-
 “ trine, as well dogmatized as moral, are con-
 “ tained *not in Scriptures only*, but also in the tra-
 “ ditions of the Catholic Church, and that *it belongs*
 “ *to the Church itself alone to interpret each of*
 “ *them.*” (20.)

In another of these bulls, or rescripts, the Bible
 “ in our Churches is denominated “ the Bible of the
 “ Devil.” The pastoral charge of the Roman
 Catholic Bishops of Ireland says, that his Holiness
wisely remarks, that “ more evil than good is found
 “ to result from the indiscriminate perusal of
 “ the Scriptures.” How are all these *wise* de-
 clarations against the circulation of the Scriptures
 to be reconciled? If the infallibility of the
 Church of Rome exists at all, the proof of it
 must be found in the Bible, and there only; and,
 therefore, the more generally the Scriptures are
 known and read, the more firmly would be the in-
 fallibility established. The Pastoral charge has
 devised an ingenious expedient to solve this diffi-
 culty. Rome, we are told, when immersed in ido-
 latry, commanded, by an edict of the senate, that
 books reputed hostile to her institutions should be
 burnt in the Forum! Such is the illustration which
 the subscribing prelates have deemed apt to intro-

duce into the charge. What an outcry of abuse, what charge of illiberality would a Protestant have experienced had he offered such an exposition for his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. In conclusion, "the Bible is either hostile or friendly to the claims and institutions of the Church of Rome. If hostile, how can that Church be a sincere Church of Christ? If friendly, where is the wisdom of suppressing the evidence of a great and undoubted friend?" Will the Irish Papists dare to tell the Pope that his declaration is false, or shall we admit it to be true? Do not all their proceedings establish the truth of the observation, that, "whenever the Bible is against a man, that man, in return, will assuredly be against the Bible?"

A few more words with Dr. Doyle, and we have done with him. The Commissioners of Inquiry and their Report do not escape his severe animadversions, nor the Government his bitter invectives; he thus expresses himself:—"We looked with doubt and apprehension to whatever we have witnessed on the part of this commission, and to all that has emanated from it."—Again, "It is the product of a commission divided in sentiment and opinion, just like the cabinet which created it, and the deformed son is not more like the decrepit father than the Report of the Commissioners is like the acts of our administrations." Surely, to say the least of it, this is but an ungrateful return to those who have sacrificed far too much of Protestant principle, in some parts of their proceedings. But these gentle-

men know nothing of the severe task-masters in whose services they engaged; they insist upon full and unqualified obedience from their vassals, and nothing less will suffice. Well indeed may it be asked, where is the country in the whole world, in which the established religion, clergy, nobility, gentry, and the government, could thus be, with impunity, calumniated? and where is the man, out of the Church of Rome, calling himself a minister of the gospel of peace, who could assume such a port and bearing? Let those look well to it who plead for an extension of civil rights for such men.

To us, it is a matter of delight to trace the cause of this resentment to its real source, because in it we discover a promise of future happiness to Ireland. Education, scriptural education, is the enemy against which these anathemas are fulminated—it is extending its benign influence, and hence arises the cry of pretended grievances and lamentations. “We have,” (says the *same* I. K. L. in his letters) “borne many things; *but we have never borne a persecution more bitter than what now assails us.*—As the persecution of the Church “by Julian, in the time of peace, was more afflict-
“ing than that of Nero or Domitian, so what we
“suffer from these societies, (i. e. Bible societies,)
“the power and prejudice they have embodied
“against us, is more tormenting than what we
“endured under Anne or the Second George.”
(page 153.) What would have been said if the *worthies* in those reigns had dared to promulgate

the language with which we are constantly assailed? And what end has been attained from all that has since been granted, except an increasing desire to gain more? The Church of Rome concedes nothing—it grasps at all.

Some circumstances have lately occurred to show the bold, daring, and encroaching spirit of the Priesthood in Ireland, which may well stagger the advocates of their cause, and confirm their opponents in distrusting their professions. Look at the conduct of that “*mild, unassuming Priesthood*,” as they have been called, who have NO POLITICAL objects in view, in the recent Irish elections; and we find the same deadly virus as ever flowing through the whole proceedings, under their open and immediate direction, to the destruction of all order, and of every tie between landlord and tenant. Mr. Maxwell, in his address to the county of Cavan, says, “You have seen priests converted into furious demagogues, inciting their flocks to hatred of their fellow Christians and ingratitude to their benefactors. You have heard them denouncing eternal damnation against every one who withheld their vote from their favourite candidate.” And true it is, that “The conduct of the Romish clergy has afforded a practical illustration of the fallacy of the testimony given by their prelates before both Houses of Parliament.”

Take another instance, in what occurred at the election for the county of Waterford. Lord George Beresford says, “I propose to petition Parliament against the return that has been made of members

“ for this county. I will prove, that the Roman
 “ Catholic Clergy have exerted the vast spiritual
 “ powers of their Church to accomplish a temporal
 “ object; that they have applied the terrors of an-
 “ other world to the political concerns of this; and
 “ have employed all their influence over a deluded
 “ multitude, for the establishment of a despotism
 “ which threatens to involve our laws and liberties
 “ in one common ruin.” A placard was exhibited
 at Waterford, of the following impious tenor:
 “ Vote for the Lord Jesus, and not for the Lord
 “ George.” At the chairing of Mr. Dawson, the
 Popish Candidate, at Dundale, “ the priests ac-
 “ companied the mob, and the most dreadful
 “ yells filled the air. Banners were displayed,
 “ with the harp divested of the crown, the
 “ exact rebel banner of 1798. They were all
 “ decorated with green ribbons, the rebel colour at
 “ the same period.” And it may be remarked, by
 the way, that Mr. O’Connell has been traversing
 Ireland in the same coloured livery, haranguing the
 people in speeches calculated to excite the most
 violent feelings of irritation and discontent.

In all the contests, that for the county of Dublin
 alone excepted, blood has been shed, and in some
 cases seven or eight persons have been killed. At
 a meeting of Lord George Beresford’s friends, Mr.
 Maxwell expressed himself thus, “ We have seen
 “ Popish priests marching at the head of a nume-
 “ rous mob, and threatening with the loss of pro-
 “ perty, and, above all, with eternal damnation,
 “ such as should vote contrary to their directions.

“ The anathemas pronounced in the streets have
 “ been re-echoed from the chapels, and not a Sun-
 “ day has elapsed that some proscribed Roman
 “ Catholic is not marked out by his priest from
 “ the altar as an object of vengeance.”

In contemplating these outrages, one cannot help recurring to those during the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798. Musgrave's history of that eventful period informs us that, among its chief movers, were five prelates, and several other of the Romish clergy ; and that many others were driven into the rebellion by the threats and representations of their priests. They acted under an oath, “ to burn, “ murder, and destroy all heretics up to their “ knees in blood.” The Committee of Assassination had their priests, who readily absolved them after the commission of fresh murders. Here is no taking refuge under cover of the *dark ages*. But the opportunity seemed highly favourable, and it was supposed that these outrages could safely be prosecuted according to the received maxim of their Church, namely, “ *without danger to themselves.*” This drew out some of the hierarchy.— They knew the country was in a state of great embarrassment, threatened with invasion ; a mutiny in the fleet, and France overrunning the continent with her victorious armies. The moment appeared particularly auspicious, and the success certain. But it pleased God to set at nought all their wicked devices ; and, by the confessions extracted upon oath, from the parties themselves, to

leave us one more proof upon record of Popish bigotry, intolerance, and rebellion.

NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION. This illegal, but permitted association is a worthy scion of the parent from which it derived its birth; and, if it does not rival it in power, it is not backward in inclination to put forth the same vindictive spirit, and, as far as it is able, to spread its pestiferous influence in destroying all order and decency, and in exciting the minds of the people to rebellion and discontent. The resolutions and proceedings which are industriously circulated by its Popish leaders have all the same tendency: they are filled with expressions of disloyalty to the family upon the throne, and disaffection to the government.—Declamation is a species of base metal uttered by fraud, and professions are a currency easily forged—the resemblance of something valuable and intrinsically worth nothing.

How comes this Association to exist in any shape? and why is it permitted? is a question that suggests itself to every reasonable mind, and it is painful to trace some of the circumstances which have attended it. When the bill for putting down ALL associations in Ireland became a law, a certain meeting of English and Irish peers took place, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Roman Catholic against the Protestant interest in Ireland—added to this, came the influence arising out of a knowledge of the strong predilections entertained by the heads of the Irish government in favour of

the former. Thus supported, the New Association was established, and Mr. O'Connell and his friends lost no time in parading through Ireland, in a uniform (21) well known among the people, to harangue them in inflammatory language, and set all laws of order and decency at defiance. Can such conduct in a Protestant government and towards the Protestant part of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, be wise? Can it be just? Is this what we are to understand by "*conciliation*, or is it *neutrality*?" It is neither. We need only to look at the state of Ireland since the late proceedings of the Roman Catholics, and it will be impossible to mistake the cause from which they have originated.

The Roman Catholic Priesthood, arrogate to themselves the right of arraigning every thing which belongs to the Established Church—to insult its ministers and revile its dignitaries, in terms as indecorous as our language can furnish. Every sentence inveighing against that Church and its members is received with cheers. Every malignant allusion to those who presume to think for themselves, but differ from them in sentiment as to their claims, calls forth applause. It is from their public meetings, and from the tone and temper with which their harangues are delivered, that we are authorized to draw conclusions and foresee the worst of consequences if this system be permitted to continue in exercise.

Mr. O'Connell, who styles himself of the order of *Liberators*, (ought it not to be *Agitators*,) has been busied in circulating the rules of the order;

the 7th is to promote the system of dealing *exclusively* with *the friends of civil and religious liberty*, Protestant and Catholic. Will any one venture to ask where these dealers are to be found among the *latter*, unless they be apostates from the *infallible holy mother church*? It is rank nonsense for a true Roman Catholic to talk of religious liberty.

This Association is now employed upon matters of finance, the money comes in slowly, and they have resolved to appropriate what remains of their capitation-tax of 1824, to the protection of the forty-shilling freeholders, who have rendered themselves so conspicuous at the late elections. This is quite as legitimate a way of disposing of the money extorted by the priests from the pockets of the poor, for the OLD "Catholic Rent," as that for which a great part of it was voted by the Association; for instance, £5000 for the expenses of petitions to Parliament—the same sum for enlightening their fellow-subjects in England, because, say they, "It would be suited to the piety and charity of the Irish people to supply their haughty neighbours of Great Britain *with the means of instruction in the ancient faith!*" How kind and considerate! Another £5000 towards gaining the press, which, when devoted to their service, is called the *liberal* press; (22) and, when adverse, "the *villanous* English press." Mr. O'Connell very aptly tells us that "the oppressors of mankind are ready enough to bribe the press." And who is more likely to know this than so great a practitioner as himself? Then another £5000 goes to enlighten the United

States by sending a supply of priests to that country! These are some of the ingenious contrivances to dissipate the "old rent." But how is it that this Association, which has ceased to have a legal existence, has not felt it a duty to lay before the public a correct account of its receipts and expenditure? Let those answer this question who have amused us with their tales of sacrifices made, of services rendered to their country, and of the patriotic and *disinterested* motives which have influenced their conduct.

Mr. O'Connell boldly pledges himself to find out a way to *evade* the law of the land—the new rent is established, and he insists upon its being collected (23) "for the protection of those who have" "sustained the religion of the country." £300 were accordingly lately sent to Waterford. It would be a sickening task to attempt to follow this gentleman through his various vituperations, or to notice the scurrility in which he condescends to indulge in speaking of persons and things as it suits his purpose. At one time he leaves the forty-shilling freeholders to their fate; at another, he starts up as their zealous defender. Now he addresses an inflammatory epistle to his countrymen as "Hereditary Bondsmen," and as one of the order of Liberators:—then he is an agitator—at another time he is no agitator, but a conciliator. In fact, there is no knowing what he is, in his *minor* characters, while there is no mistaking him in his grand aim and object; still, however, lest we should chance to do so, he desires us to "remember not to mistake their (the Asso-

ciations) constitutional and conscientious submission to legal authority into any unwillingness and unfitness to exert all our faculties, mental and corporeal, upon any fitting and constitutional occasion in the vindication of our national rights as men and of our privileges as subjects."

At another time, Mr. O'Connell expresses his wish that "the *oppression* countenanced by the English press should be recorded as it deserved, by the execration of the civilized world, and that a boasting people should receive the recompense which they had earned, namely, the execration of mankind." Poor Old England! and this is to be your doom, because, forsooth, you will not abandon your Protestant constitution. Compare this with Mr. O'Connell's fawning language and conduct during his visit to the Metropolis, and his evidence before Parliament: nay, with the sentiments of Mr. Lambert, (a Roman Catholic gentleman,) in a Letter from Carnagh, dated 26th December, 1825, in which he says, "It cannot be wise, it is not decent, to revile that legislature to which we are about to present our humble petition. Are we for ever to play the part of the beggar in Gil Blas, who implored the charity of the passenger, and, at the same time, levelled a musket at his head?"

At a late meeting of the Association, the titular Bishop of Killaloe addressed a letter, with £10 enclosed, for the relief of the freeholders, giving a significant hint that the successful candidates ought to contribute on the same laudable occasion.

Nor does he stop here, for he adds, "I candidly avow that this remark alludes to such men as Mr. Stuart, whose wealth is said to be incalculable." This is plainly saying that persons who hold their seats in Parliament in virtue of their subserviency to the political views of the Popish hierarchy, and of the Association which it patronizes and employs, are considered as amenable to that Association and to that hierarchy! Let these gentlemen learn (since they are such novices as still to need to learn) from these early hints of priestly influence, that they have entered into *no easy service*, and that the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, and the Association, feel that, in possessing the nomination of members of parliament, they possess also a *real and substantial authority*, which they resolve shall not lay dormant in their hands. It is contrary to the practice of the Romish Church that it should do so.

At the same meeting, the Established Church is pronounced as "an usurpation, indignity, and robbery *in its revenues* of the Church of Rome." Mr. O'Reilly kindly hinted that he meant to institute an inquiry into the titles of the estates of all those persons *who shall move for a distress*. Mr. Lawless observed, he might as well move for a repeal of *the Act of Settlement*. Nor is there any thing visionary in this idea, should these men unhappily succeed in their career. The open avowal of such opinions affords a useful hint of what the landed proprietors in Ireland might, in that case, expect. The following notice which was very lately posted on the walls of a house, on the lands of Ballyglasheen, the property

of George Robbins, Esq. may be considered among the fruits arising out of all their disorderly proceedings.

“ Take notice, that any person in this neighbourhood is not to pay more than half a year’s rent this year, in consequence of the year being so bad—any person, after this notice, that do attempt paying more will be made a public example of, as we are determined to put a period to the drivers and keepers of this place, particularly Mr. Ryan Padeen and his keepers, as his doom is long time due to him.

“ JOHN ROCK.” (24.)

Behold Mr. O’Connell, once more, after all his boasted *liberality* of sentiment, uttering the following declaration at the Catholic meeting at the Corn-Exchange, on the 19th December last. “ He did not know, whether the events in England, whether the state of the money-market, would be likely to have any influence favourable to their emancipation; but he would *honestly* (pray what sort of *honesty* is this?) admit that *the present calamities of England were a consolation to him!!!*” This is an improvement of the detestable and often-condemned maxim of Rochefoucault, who only pretended there was a *secret* pleasure in seeing the misfortunes of our friends. Mr. O’Connell openly exults in them, faithfully adhering to the well-known maxim of his church, to disregard the means in obtaining the end. He finds consolation in the calamities of England! What would this man have said if such a reply had been made during

the appeal of his countrymen to us for relief? We thank God that our religion teaches us a better spirit, and we thank Mr. O'Connell, also, for his so called *honesty* in avowing such sentiments, as he has the misfortune to entertain them; nor ought they to be forgotten by those who advocate the Catholic cause. (25)

We are still considered, by the Papists, as strangers in Ireland: the forfeited estates, the titles of which are sometimes to be found in the cabins of the peasantry, are brought forward, from time to time, at their meetings, by a sort of anticipatory proposition, to keep alive ancient feuds and animosities, and thus proving, if any proofs were wanting, that what is called Catholic emancipation would only be the precursor of further inroads upon private property and upon our Protestant constitution.

Attend to Mr. Scully, the barrister, who says, "The Catholic Priesthood, upon every principle of policy and justice, are entitled to claim a *large share* of the public revenues of Ireland, for the maintenance of their pastors, houses of worship, &c. And Mr. O'Connell, protesting against all securities for our Protestant constitution," tells us, "There remains another *delusion*; it is the darling deception of the ministry; it consists in *sanctions* and *securities*:" and, if this does not suffice, another speaker of great authority among them adds, "Shall Catholics be compelled, by the sacred bond of an oath, to *uphold a system* which *they believe will one day be rejected by the whole earth*?" And he finally declares, that "the only condition on which the apostacy of England can be forgiven

“ is its returning to its ancient worship, and having
 “ a Catholic king and a Catholic parliament!”
 All this is in perfect conformity to what he said on a
 former occasion, that “ ministers ought not to be
 “ surprised that we (Roman Catholics) should wish
 “ to throw off *a pestilential protestant ascendancy.*”
 In defiance of such facts, and very many of a similar
 kind might be added, a meeting was very lately
 held at Wexford, at which Sir Thomas Esmond pre-
 sided, when it was boldly asserted, that “ the Roman
 “ Catholics of Ireland, have given the stongest proofs
 “ of their attachment to the constitution, and their
 “ allegiance to the sovereign of these realms.” The
 history of the rebellion in Ireland contains a mourn-
 ful tale of an attack made upon Prosperous, a small
 town near Wexford, in which a Mr. John Esmond,
 brother of Sir Thomas, a Roman Catholic gentle-
 man, played a very conspicuous part. It is painful
 to recur to these events; but silence would be a
 crime, when such a barefaced fallacy is attempted to
 be imposed upon us.

We are thus made aware of the terms upon
 which we are to be spared; to which we reply, we
 have returned to the “ ANCIENT” worship, from
 which you are apostates—We have a CATHOLIC
 king and parliament, which you are labouring hard
 to convert into a *Romish* king and parliament.
 You arrogantly assume the title of Catholic, which
 you have forfeited, by substituting an impious and
 idolatrous creed and form of worship for the true
 Catholic faith. So far from yours being the *ancient*
 church, it is, in truth, “ a mass of novelties, alike
 “ unknown to Scripture and to the primitive Chris-

“ tian Church, and which, through the perverse industry of the Romish Priesthood, have been accumulating from age to age, so as to have well-nigh overlaid and smothered genuine Christianity.”

It has been well observed, what harmony can be anticipated from a merely *external union* of Roman Catholics with Protestants, in one legislative body, having *two souls*, to form enactments for each other's liberties and privileges, whether religious or political? How can there be even any approximation where the breach is widened by encouraging the propagation of doctrines tending to subvert all order in society? Or are we to listen to the ingenious sophistry broached in a letter to Mr. Hallam, which says, “ the extent of interference of the Romish Clergy at the late Irish elections, so far from being an argument against ‘Emancipation’, is, on the contrary, one of the strongest reasons for granting it.” Can that cause be good—can it be honest, which rests its claims upon such principles? This reasoning, if such it can be called, is mainly founded upon an hypothesis, that, having committed the first error (as the writer confesses it to have been) in making concessions to the Irish Catholics, and “giving the elective franchise” to what he calls “*the Catholic rabble*,” and whom, as events have proved, the boon has not been able to conciliate, “it ought not to be refused to the gentry!” Now it seems far more wise to profit by past experience, and firmly to resist all such inroads as must ultimately and inevitably lead to the complete overthrow of our Protestant consti-

tution.—They have told us, in words often repeated, and too plain to be misunderstood, that what is called Catholic Emancipation will not suffice: but that the Protestant Church of Ireland must give way to what they erroneously call the “Ancient religion.” (26.)

A correspondence has lately found its way into the public prints, between R. Wilmot Horton, Esq. M.P. (27) and Edward Blount, Esq. the former a Protestant advocate for Romish claims, the latter, of a respectable family of that persuasion. The situation of the parties—the subject upon which they treat, and the time of publication, (nearly two months after the letters were written,) all contribute to entitle them to notice. Mr. Horton begins his letter, dated, 26th July, by strongly expressing his regret at the proceedings of a meeting of the British Catholic Association, held a few days before, “as tending to extinguish in the mind of every unbiassed friend whom they possess all hope of settling the question in a tranquil and constitutional manner.” Mr. H. refers to a letter he addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, wherein he had already complained of the difficulties which surround those, who have conscientiously voted for concession of Roman Catholic claims.” He wishes that, instead of ransacking the English language for expressions of contempt, of menace, and of revengeful feeling, “they would substitute terms of dignified conciliation and of calm and reasonable remonstrance.”

That is, Mr. Horton wishes “the Ethiopian to

change his skin and the leopard his spots :” or, in other words, that the Roman Catholics, *in order to gain their ends*, would disguise their real views and motives. But has not Mr. Horton been rather tardy in discovering this total absence of common decency in the speeches which have been so long and so industriously circulated ? Could he mistake their evil tendency ? And yet he has perseveringly advocated the cause which they were intended to promote, and thus tacitly, at least, given them his sanction.—But he now discovers, they injure the *cause*, (no matter how they may have poisoned the minds of his fellow-subjects,) and he thinks the time is arrived when he ought to admonish.—Be it so ; and we venture to assert, that if Mr. Horton’s letters are submitted to a conclave of Jesuits, at Stoneyhurst, they will discover themselves reflected as in the mirror, and unanimously sanction his prudent and cautious advice. Without intending any disrespect to Mr. Horton, we hesitate not to pronounce that the whole of his arguments prove an utter ignorance of the real intentions of the men whose cause he has been advocating, and that he must be classed among those, who are the dupes of their artifice. Mr. Horton may be fully persuaded that, although *some* members of these unconstitutional meetings and associations have justly incurred his displeasure by their intemperate conduct, there are others among them who, though more discreet, entertain precisely the same sentiments, and need none of his teaching to play a double part in the drama that is now performing.

We therefore join issue with Mr. Horton, upon his own statement, and maintain that the far greater part of the Catholic body in England and Ireland mean all that has been so industriously circulated among the people, in the shape of threat, menace, and abuse, and only wait a convenient season to afford a practical proof of it. This belief is founded upon an attentive review of past events, and the increased tone of audacity and insolence, in which these pretended claims are now put forward. Well indeed may their well-meaning advocates begin to feel alarmed and uneasy at the late proceedings: but let it also be understood, that those who have steadily maintained opposite views, are at no difficulty to trace the source of all these disorderly proceedings to the encouragement that has been given to call them into action.

Mr. Horton complains that the English Catholics have *identified* themselves with the Association and the priests in Ireland. But is it not a little extraordinary that this should be gravely made a matter of accusation by Mr. Horton? We must therefore be permitted to ask him, whose cause HE HAS been labouring to advocate with so much zeal? Is it not the very cause which Mr. O'Connell and his associates have been employed to spread over Ireland, by means the most unworthy and unconstitutional? Are these not the men who have vented every species of malice, insult, and ribaldry, against the monarch on the throne, and his august family—and against every person, no matter how high in rank, or how estimable in

character, who has opposed their claims? Are not these the men whom Mr. Horton and his fellow advocates have been upholding and encouraging to pursue their disgraceful career, without which they would not have dared to have done so? And does Mr. Horton, of all men, now turn round to condemn the English Catholics, because his perception has never before led him to discover that they always have been, and still are, *identified* with the *Irish Agitators*? Really Mr. Horton is as exorbitant in his demands upon our credulity as if he had adopted the Romish creed.

The British Roman Catholics, stung with the reproach of having been outdone by their Irish brethren, have, as Mr. Horton observes, more avowedly identified themselves with Mr. O'Connell, and the whole tribe of Irish prelates and priests, and unanimously voted them their thanks "for their
 " indefatigable and patriotic assistance in the cause
 " of freedom, during the late elections in that
 " country."—They hail with delight the splendid
 " triumphs achieved in Ireland by the *virtuous and*
 " *patriotic* devotion of the forty-shilling free-
 " holders," &c. at all which Mr. Horton expresses his high displeasure: and why so? They have only showed us what they really are: while this doughty advocate wishes to put words into their mouths which they never intended to utter, to make them appear what they are not, and to affect a spirit of conciliation which they do not even pretend to possess. This they have plainly told us over and over again.—NO CONCESSIONS—NO COMPROMISE—NO

SECURITIES. Equally mistaken is this gentleman, when he says, that such conduct "*confirms our pre-judices.*" No—it establishes the truth of our opinions from their own lips and conduct: and places Mr. Horton and all their honest advocates in a very unpleasant dilemma. Can we then marvel that these gentlemen should begin to feel embarrassed? Who indeed is to decide "at what point the liberties of Ireland are to begin or where to end," if committed to the hands of the priests? And do no qualms of conscience arise amongst those who, by having advocated so unnatural a cause, have been mainly instrumental, not only in placing the liberties of Ireland in this perilous state, but also our Protestant constitution?

So precise is Mr. Horton in his arithmetical calculations, that he says, "*he knows* that every additional vote in the House of Commons, which may be introduced through the medium of the interference of the Priesthood, confirms a vote of resistance in the House of Lords." May it not, without offence, be asked, whether the House of Commons will not best consult its own dignity and the interests of the country at large if they do the same? Mr. Horton treats the priestly interference as a novelty, and wishes to confine their cares to their spiritual concerns; and so they do, when any good purpose is to be answered with the peasantry; for instance, refuse to contribute to the rent, or to vote at an election in conformity to the wishes of the priesthood; they in return exercise their *spiritual* powers by refus-

ing them the sacramental rights, or absolution at confession. In truth, Mr. Horton is a mere baby in the hands of these men, who are actuated by motives and proceed upon principles, at the discovery of which his ingenuous mind would recoil with just indignation.

Mr. Horton appeals to the conduct of the priests, at the late election, with respect to the tenants of the Duke of Devonshire, and he cites it as a mark of ingratitude towards that nobleman, who has always favoured Catholic claims. To us it appears to admit of another interpretation; it shows that these men, having the power, and acting upon *their own* principles, will at any time, and in all places, carry the man of their choice; and that they will assume the right to do so, without being chargeable with ingratitude towards their landlords.

Still, however, Mr. Horton does not think the policy of granting their claims changed, although he holds out a sort of threat of what may happen if they do not "allay, instead of excite Protestant distrust, by awakening, instead of repressing, Protestant confidence." That is, put on a mask, and appear what you are not, to gain your end, in order to deceive this Protestant land! Is such conduct worthy of a British senator?

The reply to this letter from Mr. Blount deserves little notice: it is poor and Jesuitical, and full of hopes and fears. He does not see why the Popish Clergy should not interfere at elections; and he conscientiously believes, that the Roman Catholic Clergy are "most exemplary subjects." So it ap-

pears by the mode in which they extorted the "Catholic rent" from their flocks; in their conduct at the late elections, and in their gross, vulgar, and scurrilous abuse, vented, upon all occasions, against the Protestant Constitution, the Church, the Clergy, and all who presume to oppose their views. In all this conduct, Mr. B. sees nothing either disgraceful or dangerous to the public welfare. And this may be very true, because HE thinks it will lead to the aggrandisement of HIS Church.

Mr. Horton replies, by tracing the cause of his mortification, at the conduct of the Roman Catholic body, to his tender apprehension that it may do "substantial prejudice" to the Catholic question, and that their conduct has most *eminently neutralized* the good effects he had anticipated from the declaration of the English Catholics.

One would really almost be led to conclude, that this gentleman had a share in framing this declaration. Mr. Horton appears not only in the character of a stanch friend, but, also, of a politic counsellor! Time will show how far it will be acted upon, and whether the Association and its advocates will henceforward be better behaved. A little oil poured into the proceedings of the next meeting will make up for past indiscretions, and all will be well again.

In a very able letter to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart. by the Rev. Francis Huyshe, upon Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlet respecting the claims of the Roman Catholics, the author observes, "Mr. Horton " may tell us that in his letter to the Duke of

“ Norfolk he called for a distinct explanatory state-
 “ ment of the doctrines and opinions of the Roman
 “ Catholics,” and that he wished such an explana-
 “ tion as should “ be candid and unreserved;” but,
 says the author, “ I certainly think any set of men
 “ might be trusted for NOT publishing in a per-
 “ fectly candid and unreserved manner *what must*
 “ *defeat their own views*, when they are not examined
 “ directly upon that very point.” Again, “ It is
 “ not to be expected,” says Mr. Horton, “ that, as
 “ a Protestant, I can concur in the soundness of the
 “ reasoning which is applied in justification of par-
 “ ticular points of the Roman Catholic faith.” But,
 rejoins the author, and most justly, “ It was to be
 “ expected of him, as a LEGISLATOR, that he should
 “ have inquired whether those which he classes as
 “ exclusively of a speculative or doctrinal nature,
 “ do not depend on the same reasoning, and flow
 “ from the same principle, as those which may
 “ interfere with practice. They hold an irreligious
 “ principle, and entertain opinions flowing out of
 “ that principle, which are inconsistent with their
 “ duties as Christians, and may be equally so with
 “ the duties they would undertake as legislators,
 “ judges, and governors.” The whole of this letter
 is well worth perusal, it clearly demonstrates, upon
 Mr. Horton’s own showing, that no concessions
 will satisfy, until ALL and EVERY THING be restored
 to their church. See, also, the author’s admirable
 reply, page 39, to a passage in Mr. Horton’s letter
 to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 33.

Mr. Horton, in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk,

in the honest integrity of his own mind, makes some observations upon "the presumed claims of the Roman Catholics upon the tithes and property of the Protestant church, and of the absolute necessity that a more clear and argumentative repudiation should be made by the Roman Catholic body than has ever yet been published." All this may be very true, and what, perhaps, might be done in any other case. But, in the present instance, the remedy proposed is wholly inadequate to remove the evil. Is Mr. Horton now to learn that no declaration, no security, no oath, would be valid, emanating from that body on such a point? According to the fundamental rules of the Romish Church, they are a nullity, unacknowledged, unaccredited, and without any power of binding even themselves, far less their successors; and the more Mr. Horton investigates the whole of this important question, the more he will find himself entangled in difficulties from which there is no way of escape.

On the present occasion, however, the matter would be set at rest, should his requisition be listened to. His Holiness would say this is a *spiritual affair*, in which I allow no interference, and I enjoin silence upon his Grace of Norfolk, and all other members of the Church; or, should his Holiness dissemble, in order to attain an object, it would still remain a dormant right, but not a power conceded or abandoned, and ready to be exercised at any convenient season. Nor can it have escaped Mr. Horton's penetrating mind, that

there are some very strong recorded facts of the feelings and sentiments both of the hierarchy, the priests, and the laity, towards the Protestant Church and her property.

We are informed that the Roman Catholics mean steadily to persevere in asserting their pretensions. Be it so : we must as firmly unite in opposing them. If the so termed *harassing system* is to be kept up, we will meet it with corresponding exertions. But, after all that their advocates have said and done, they well know, that the acquiescence of the Popish Priesthood to their measures will depend upon the *terms* in which they are proffered : and these stand recorded, from time to time, in language not to be misunderstood. There must, therefore, be great concessions on one part or the other, and the question to be decided will be, who is to yield ? We are not now speaking of those who oppose their pretensions upon fixed principles, but of such persons (and Mr. W. Horton among the rest) who are disposed to go certain lengths, but not to travel over the whole ground with them. This is a dilemma which they, in common with many persons, on other occasions, have brought upon themselves, by forming intimacies with those of whose secret views and objects they were wholly unacquainted, and they must take the consequence.

As it has become so much a modern practice, among Romish advocates to draw a line of distinction and denominate those "*liberal Protestants*" who favour their pretensions, and towards whom they affect to hold out a reciprocal feeling, it will

not be amiss to attend to the testimony of a Roman Catholic bishop, high in estimation, respecting "*liberal-minded Catholics*." The following passage occurs in a popular work, published only a few years ago, entitled "Defence of the Ancient Faith." By Dr. Gandolphy. "It should be known," he says, "that none are more thoroughly infected with what Protestants understand by bigotry and intolerance than those *liberal-minded Catholics*, who differ from other Catholics in nothing *but the hypocritical mark under which they conceal themselves from Protestant observation*." This is paying no flattering compliment to the discernment of Mr. Horton, and all such Protestants as have been toiling in their cause, under a belief and assurance of their sincerity? But what would the O'Connell's, the Shiel's, the Lawless's, and the whole tribe of agitators, liberators, and innovators, arrayed in rebel green, have said, had a Protestant uttered such a sentiment against "*the liberal*" members of their *holy* Church? and still this might have happened, without transgressing the bounds of truth.

The last grand attempt at approximation proved a signal of division among themselves, between what was called the wings and the clergy: and whatever may be devised which tends to promote freedom of thought or knowledge of the scriptures will be rejected. What a soil is this for Protestant legislators to attempt to cultivate. But, say they, in reply, we will give them the Bible. To this the priests answer, with the authority of the head of their Church,

"It is the device of Satan." Let it not, however, be supposed that we would relax in any effort to circulate the scriptures among the people. We cordially subscribe to the opinion, that "*the great evil of Ireland is the religion of the peasantry;*" and that the only true emancipation will be from the thralldom of their Priests. But we distinctly deny that the right mode of attaining this emancipation, or any other benefits to Ireland, is to be sought by an extension of power or privileges to the members of that unaltered Church. Experience and common sense are opposed to it. And, therefore, what has been here contended for, is against consolidating, by legal sanction, that influence which it is not denied the priests already possess over their flocks, and to protest against the truth of the inference attempted to be drawn, by the advocates of Catholic claims, that, in opening the door, we should check the evil. Such an argument would be scouted as visionary, by these very same persons, upon any other occasion, and it is equally preposterous in the present case.

But are we quite certain, after all, that the priests do not view this so called "Emancipation" with indifference, if not with jealousy? Do the emancipators and emancipated agree in what the one is disposed to give and the other to receive? The priests at present feel a haughty sentiment of superiority; they are a separate and select body. All their honours emanate from Rome. They are, in spirit, *strangers* in our land, but still possessing an uncontrolled and undefined influence over their

vassals. In the same spirit, they would prefer being left as they are, dependent for their maintenance upon their respective congregations. This is confessed by Dr. Murray, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, and by Dr. Kelly, the titular Archbishop of Tuam, who says, "I am not aware that the payment of the Catholic Clergy by the state would, by any means, be considered as a boon by the lower orders. They would prefer paying their clergy as they do at present, to seeing them become stipendiaries of Government. As one of the Prelates of the Church, I will candidly confess, I should prefer remaining as I am."

Does not this look very much as if many of the loud declaimers for "Catholic Emancipation" made it more an object arising out of political motives than one of a religious cast? Mr. Horton says, that "the English language has been ransacked for expressions of contempt, of menace, and of revengeful feeling." He regrets it, because it may injure their cause. We condemn it, because it has the worst possible effect upon the minds and morals of the people, and its constant repetition is subversive of all peace and order. "It is useless," says an able modern writer, "to bewilder ourselves in endless inquiries and debates about all the mysteries of the Papal system, and the changes they may or may not have undergone since the reformation, while the leading principles are avowedly maintained by those who refuse to take the oaths which disclaim them. Protestants think that the

“ existing laws which the wisdom and experience
 “ of our ancestors have transmitted to us for the to-
 “ tal exclusions of the Papal system are the only
 “ adequate securities against its restoration. They
 “ offer no hostility or offence to the adherents to the
 “ Roman power,—it is to the usurpation itself that
 “ they are opposed. But if formidable combina-
 “ tions and confederacies are to be raised against
 “ the constitution, they must and will associate
 “ with equal zeal and activity in its defence.”—
The Papal Supremacy, by Mr. Serjeant Cross.

It may be, that the declared object of the ad-
 vocates for emancipation is to conciliate the Ro-
 man Catholics. “ But,” says an eminent prelate,
 already referred to, “ has it been sufficiently con-
 “ sidered what may be the result with respect to
 “ the great mass of the PROTESTANT COMMUNITY?
 “ The effect, even in removing dissatisfaction from
 “ the lower orders, at least, of the Roman Catho-
 “ lics, appears to me exceedingly doubtful, if not
 “ hopeless. But, supposing it to have that effect,
 “ what are likely to be the feelings of OUR PRO-
 “ TESTANT FELLOW-SUBJECTS? What can be ex-
 “ pected but a revival of those protracted and ac-
 “ crimonious controversies which, from the resto-
 “ ration to the revolution, so vehemently agitated
 “ the public mind.”

The subject discussed in the foregoing pages
 has, in one shape or other, been brought before the
 public by our fellow-subjects, who are members of
 the Church of Rome, for some years past; but the
 measures pursued to obtain their object have as-

sumed, of late, a new character, and such as may well awaken the vigilance of the Protestant part of the community. Like the axe in the fable, which applied to the trees of the forest for a handle, they commenced as humble suitors, and like it, also, they have increased in boldness and audacity, in proportion as they received encouragement: so that we seem now to be approaching to that point which is to determine whether they are or are not to acquire such an ascendancy in this Protestant land as shall pronounce the reformation a fallacy, the revolution an usurpation, and our Protestant constitution a monument of folly! Are we prepared to assent to this? I trow not.

Not satisfied with urging, over and over again, objections which have been as often refuted, they have, latterly, pursued another course, by attempting to disguise the real points at issue between us; sometimes giving a specious gloss to the most obnoxious tenets of their Church, and, at others, putting them entirely out of sight. The more attentively we look at the different springs set in motion, by these master-casuists, the more evident will the truth appear of a remark made by an acute observer, that there exist two kinds of *writers* among the Roman Catholics in this country, (and this might have been further illustrated by a comparison between the evidence given before Parliament and the publications circulated by the *same* persons,) one for the Protestant public and the other for the mass of the British and Irish Roman Catholic Church. In the devotional books, and

such works as are intended to keep up an attachment to their religion, all the mummeries are retained. In those for the Protestant public, there appears only a flattered and almost ideal portrait of the original. Still, however, and while contending under this double mask, they constantly remind us that the tenets of their Church have undergone *no alteration*, and their whole proceedings demonstrate that its aggrandisement is their grand object. The present conflict, therefore, closely resembles that which our reformers had to maintain in the days of Luther and Cranmer. One party declaring, with the Psalmist, that "God's word giveth light to the understanding, and wisdom to the simple;" and the other, that it is insufficient to do so, without the aid of tradition. Be it our care steadily to maintain the former sure ground of faith.

The advocates of the pretensions of the Papal body, led away by the fallacious representations which have been so industriously put forward, plead as a justification of their conduct, that which amounts to little less than a reformation in the Church of Rome! Gladly should we hail such an event. Gladly should we grasp at an opportunity of extending to all our fellow-subjects the same privileges as are enjoyed by those who are not under Papal jurisdiction: but to encourage such delusive hopes would be to shut our eyes to passing events, and, indeed, to the bold daring of what has occurred even in the last two or three years. It is to these misled advocates more especially, that

the preceding observations are directed, without any pretence to add strength to what has been adduced by more able writers. Firmly attached, as is the author, to his country, its institutions, its mild and equitable government, and Protestant constitution, he heartily unites in opinion with one who said, " If the blessing has come upon our fragment of the globe for the preservation of Protestantism, let us open our eyes to the true conclusion, that, from the moment of our being found wilfully ineffectual in its preservation, we may be abandoned. PROTESTANTISM WILL NEVER PERISH, but it may be removed from its rank in a nation, and then that nation will assuredly either fall into decay, or will be scourged into repentance." Let it be our earnest endeavour to avert so great a calamity from falling upon this land. A heavy debt of gratitude lies upon us for our numberless blessings and merciful preservations; and where is the people to be found who can, with more truth, apply the words of the sweet singer of Israel, " Surely God hath not so dealt with any other nation ?"

From the Country,
October, 1826.

NOTES.

Page 4.

(1) A Digest of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the Two Houses of Parliament on the Affairs of Ireland, by the Rev. W. Phelan and the Rev. M. O. Sullivan.

Page 8.

(2) It has been remarked, that no attack ever calls forth a reply from the Jesuit Priests of the College of Stonyhurst, and that their latency seems to point to a rule which Pascal affirms to obtain among their order, namely, that "those are the wisest among them who intrigue much, speak little, and write nothing."

Page 9.

(3) This elegant phraseology is borrowed from Mr. O'Connell, in one of his luminous descriptions of the inhabitants of these lands—an epithet which we must take care not to deserve by acceding to their pretensions.

Page 11.

(4) They have been circulated with many of the periodical publications.

Page 18.

(5) Pope Innocent IV. gave a commission to John, the Franciscan, in which is the following passage: "We charge you that if the major part of the English prelates make an-

“swer that they are exempt from *foreign jurisdiction*, you demand a greater sum, and compel them, by *ecclesiastical censures*, to withdraw their appeals, any privilege or indulgence notwithstanding.” The Church of Rome never relaxes, and it holds the Irish prelates in the same way at this day. The Pope can do no wrong.

Page 19.

(6) It was said at the time, that the council of Trent was only checked by the zeal of the Reformers in the impious attempt of declaring the Virgin Mary a *fourth* person in the Holy *Trinity*; and they have gone very great lengths in the titles conferred upon her, such as Mother of God and Queen of Heaven! &c.

(7) The Edinburgh Review of June last, which will not be suspected of undue partiality on such subjects, has a well written article on the unfaithfulness and false colouring which Dr. Lingard practises in noticing this deed of horror, in his History of England. “There is,” says the reviewer, “a mode of telling a story, that, without being positively false, conveys an impression very different from the truth. Dr. Lingard is an adept in this art,” and, he might have added, that the same may be applied to *all* Popish writers, where their Church is any way concerned. The reviewer gives a useful caution, that “no fact should be credited without examination, no impression be received without doubt, on the mere authority of Dr. Lingard’s statements.” So much for this historian, who has been so largely copied by Mr. Butler and other Popish writers of the day.

(8) Many undeniable proofs were brought before Parliament of the active part taken by the papists, at that unhappy crisis; one only will here be noticed. Father Murphy, the Pope’s legate, in Ireland, was killed at the battle of Arklow, and in his pocket was found a journal, in which he exultingly acknow-

ledges himself to have been a party in numerous murders, &c. A perfect characteristic document was also discovered on his person, entitled "Articles of the Roman Catholic Faith." They were thirty-five in number. The following three will suffice as a specimen:—Article 6. "We are bound to believe that the late holy massacres were lawful and justly put into execution against Protestants, and that we should continue the same *as we can do it with safety to ourselves.*" This is a fundamental precept of their church. Article 10. "No faith is to be kept with heretics, though bound by the most sacred oaths, for," says our HOLY FATHER, "they have followed damnation, and Luther, and Calvin." Article 13. "We are bound to absolve, without any reward, all *those who imbue their hands in the blood of heretics.*" This is the orthodox doctrine of their church, and these are the men who claim an extension of civil privileges.

Page 20.

(9) Amongst others that might be mentioned are the following:—The accusations of history against the Church of Rome, by the Rev. George Townsend, with a letter to Charles Butler, Esq.; Dr. Phillpott's Letters to Charles Butler, Esq., with a Supplementary Reply; Evidences against Catholicism, by the Rev. J. B. White; *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, by Dr. Southey; Two Letters from the Bishop of Chester to Mr. Butler; Todd's Introduction to Cranmer's Defence, &c.

Page 21.

(10) M. de Pradt, who is well acquainted with the subject upon which he writes, has an observation deserving the attention of the Protestants of this country. He says, "In Ireland, in England, in Holland, and the United States, every thing in the Romish Church is done by Vicars Apostolic, as in missionary countries; this system is highly pleasing to Rome, as it gives her an entire control. The Romish

“clergy of the United States and in Ireland are greatly devoted to the Pope, and he exacts much from them in return. This will, ere long, embarrass the government of the United States, as Ireland does the English government, and as that of the Low Countries is now doing to its sovereign. There is something in all this of an *untractable nature*, which is constantly throwing difficulties in the way.” Sir John Throckmorton and Mr. Berrington, two leading characters of the Romish communion, admitted, that “as long as the present ecclesiastical government (by Apostolical Vicars) continues, neither the principles nor the allegiance of the Catholic clergy are secure.” And the late Lord Castlereagh, in the debate on the veto, stated, that “the Apostolic Vicars were mere *missionaries*, removeable at pleasure, and obliged implicitly to obey all orders from Rome.” Are these agents, therefore, fit persons to direct the consciences of British subjects?

Page 23.

(11) Speech of the Bishop of Llandaff, 25th May, 1825.

Lord Clarendon relates the fact of a large meeting of Roman Catholic noblemen and gentry, held at Arundel-House, who had generally agreed to disclaim the Pope's authority in temporal affairs, which broke up, and met no more, in consequence of a Jesuit objecting to such a disavowal.

Page 24.

(12) See the interesting correspondence with the Court of Rome on the nomination of the Vicar-General, Baron Von Wessenburg, published by Ackermann, in 1819, as another proof of the arbitrary proceedings of the Court of Rome, in defiance to the will of the sovereign Prince, in whose dominion the circumstance took place.

Page 25.

(13) It was examined and approved by more than one

hundred *profound* theologians, and, particularly, in this country, by seven or eight Romish archbishops and bishops, twenty vicars general, besides doctors, professors, &c

• Among the testimonials, the following deserves to be recorded :
 —Father Brening, an English Jesuit, has the impious audacity to tell us, “ Were Scripture no more, and all the most valuable
 “ treatises of instructive, moral, doctrinal, and theological
 “ science no more to be met with in other books, *they might*
 “ *all be recovered in this one, and with interest thereon.*” In the same spirit Eccius said that “ if the Scriptures were not
 “ supported by the authority of the Church they were of
 “ no more value than Esop’s Fables !”

Page 27.

(14) The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine of August last has the following admirable remark upon this passage.—“ For plain, candid, downright
 “ Jesuitry, this assuredly excels all that this redoubtable
 “ champion of Popery has yet done. Nor is there any
 “ part of the oath through which a bold front and this
 “ boldest of evasions may not pass :—I swear to bear true
 “ allegiance to George IV. but I have sworn allegiance to the
 “ Pope, and it is *known* I have done so ; and if the royalties
 “ of St. Peter, the rights, honours, privileges, and authorities
 “ of the Church—the rules of the holy Father’s decrees, ordi-
 “ nances, reservations, provisions, and apostolic commands—
 “ if these interfere with my allegiance to the king, and that I
 “ pursue a certain line of conduct in consequence, the oath
 “ I have taken is no hindrance for adhering to my former
 “ oath is a doctrine of my Church, which doctrine your law
 “ recognizes, *and this is the way I understand that clause.*—
 “ What fetters of law or religion shall bind this Proteus ? and
 “ are not the Roman Catholic aristocracy ashamed of sup-
 “ porting a creed that licenses such equivocations—that claims
 “ a recognition to which every, the most indifferent, sect has

“ an equal pretension, and uses the most shameful evasion
 “ to explain away part of the very oath that contains a declaration, denying all evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation?”

(15) See the publication referred to in the preceding note, No. 11 to 16, for some very able remarks upon the pastorals and declaration of the Roman Catholic prelates, and the instructions which emanated from the same quarter on the bull for the celebration of the Jubilee.

And here may be added another instance of Jesuitism, in the evidence of Dr. Macgaurin, (R. C. Bishop of Ardagh). He is asked, “ This is a year of jubilee in the Roman Catholic Church? *I believe so.*—Do the orders that have been issued from the Pope, with respect to that jubilee, extend to Ireland? No.—Why is Ireland excepted? *I do not know.*” But Dr. Doyle tells a different story—he says that the orders of the Pope for the celebration of the jubilee *did extend to Ireland*; that they received the Encyclical letter, *but did not think it proper to publish it!* The reason of which is not difficult to discover. Such an instrument as the bull of indiction might not have been *convenient* with the parliamentary examinations. Compare this evidence of two Romish bishops upon a simple fact, which, in their line of duty, *must equally have been known to both*, and what are we to think of such persons?

Page 33.

(16) So severe is the prohibition issued from Rome against the circulation of the Bible in Poland, that Dr. Pinkerton says, “ there have been printed only about 3000 Bibles in the space of 217 years, for upwards of *ten millions* of Catholics, who “ speak the Polish language!!” and yet we are desired to believe, by English Romanists, that their Church does not discourage the circulation of the Scriptures! How many of their Breviaries, and other absurdities, have found their way into that country during the same long space of years?

Page 35.

(17) The whole scope and tendency of this wicked production was evidently to create an excitement of discontent among the lower orders in Ireland. Thus, Pastorini (alias Bishop Walmsley) tells this poor deluded people, that "the "*locusts*," mentioned in c. 9, v. 1, 2 of Revelations, were "the " Protestant Churches which were to be suppressed in the year " 1825:—one of the witnesses had the *modesty* to inform the Parliamentary Committee, that this publication had been chiefly circulated by *Protestants!!!*

Page 36.

(18) The Apostle says, "marriage is honourable in ALL." The Romish Church says, it is not so; nay, that marriage is scandalous in SOME.

Page 37.

(19) See the Accusations of History against the Church of Rome, by the Rev. George Townsend, Letter 13, to Charles Butler, Esq.

Page 40.

(20) Bishop Davenant remarked, that "as the Roman Catholics are bound to receive the Scriptures according to the " interpretation of the fathers, they ought, upon their own " showing, to give up the supremacy of their Church."

Page 47.

(21) Dr. Doyle would say it was to keep him *warm*, the reason he assigns why a Jesuit wears a black coat. (See his evidence before Parliament.)

Page 46.

(22) Passing over their industrious efforts to gain the English and Irish press, it is pleasing to record many instances in which

their offers have been rejected with honest indignation. They are in the possession of the French paper, "*L'Etoile*," which is under the control of the Jesuits, and which has a practice of manufacturing articles as if written from England and Ireland, to suit time and circumstances. A foreign auxiliary lately made his appearance at a meeting in Ireland. The Duke de Montebello assured them of the support of the French *liberals*, and he witnessed a scene and harangues which must have created his astonishment, having been told of the *oppressed* people of Ireland. Let any one look at *ONE* of these speeches, and ask whether it does not breathe treason and rebellion?

Page 49.

(23) What says Mr. Connell in his evidence before the House on this subject? He is asked, "Do you think you would avoid the evil of perjury by raising the qualification to £10 per annum?" He answers, "Yes, I do.—A man who had £10 per annum freehold would be known among his neighbours, he would have a character to preserve, and I do not think there would be nearly the temptation to perjury as there is now." After this evidence in *England*, Mr. O'Connell turns short about, and finding that the forty-shilling freeholders might be converted into instruments of political utility, he cares little whether they are perjured or not, and in *Ireland* he becomes their clamorous supporter. Mark what happened in the year 1792, and reverse it with the pretensions now set up. The Catholic Committee of that day published resolutions, the fourth of which runs thus: that the application to His Majesty's ministers was that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote unless he rents a farm of £20 per annum, in addition to his forty-shilling freehold, or a freehold of £20 per annum.

Page 50.

(24) While these sheets are in the press, some occurrences have taken place in Ireland, which serve as further proofs of the

unlawful and audacious proceedings of the parties concerned. —At a meeting of the Bible Society, at Ballinasloe, Mr. Eneas O'Donnell, with a strong troop of priests, intruded themselves upon the meeting, and created a disgraceful tumult, which rendered it necessary to read the Riot Act. Again, at a meeting of the London Hibernian School, at the same place, the same persons made their appearance, which was followed by similar outrages. On both these occasions, the object was to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures, and in both, Mr. O'Donnell and the priestly intruders were defeated by the firmness and eloquence of the Rev. Mr. Pope and Capt. Gordon, R.N.—Captain Rock has again made his appearance, in two diabolical threatening notices in the county of Galway, one of which, promising to “*cut a man in four quarters* for giving information “*against distillers.*” How can there exist a doubt from whence and for what purposes these enormities are propagated? Is it not plainly to favour the *opinion* that Ireland cannot be tranquillized but by acceding to the demands of the Papists? And we would ask, what rational prospects of tranquillity would it hold out to its Protestant inhabitants and the kingdom at large, to yield from threats and menaces, even if there were not higher motives which direct us to oppose them?

By a letter published from Mr. Shiel, dated 10th October, we learn his arrival at Mante, to defend the forty-shilling freeholders against ejectments served upon them for arrears of rent. He appeals to the Association, to whom he says *they all look up*, for an aid of £150 which they sent; and adds, “*he is informed by the clergy that the penny collection is “established in every parish!”*”

The following circumstance, mentioned by Lord George Beresford, at a public meeting at Derry, on the third of the present month, ought to be generally known: it affords another proof of the tyrannical sway which is exercised by the priests over their unhappy flocks. A tenant of a neighbour set out to vote for his Lordship, in defiance of the threats of

his priest. No sooner was he informed of it, than he called upon his wife, who was, with her daughter, just brought to bed, and thus addressed her: "So, your husband is gone to vote for Lord George, after all I said to him at the chapel. Well, the curse of his clergy and his God will follow him. His corn may come up, but it will never fill—he will be accursed—the very ground on which he stands will be accursed under him, and when he dies, he will be buried in a hole like a dog, without either the rites of the church or prayers said over him. As to you, turning to the daughter, I will never church you or christen that child of yours; you and your whole family shall be marked: if you or your children go to the well, to draw water, your neighbours will hoot you and them like mad dogs." This was said in the presence of two persons who wrote it down, and are ready to attest it. This is *freedom* of election, and this is the *Christian spirit* displayed by these *mild* Romish Priests! Let it be reversed with what followed. No sooner was the circumstance known than the man was not allowed to vote, but sent home to his family! Which of these acted the part of a true Christian?

Page 51.

(25) Take one more instance, which occurred at a dinner given at Mulligar, on the 22d September last, upon proposing the health of the Duke of York. Look at the speech of Mr. Shiel, which will not bear transcribing, and then say, how an honest man, whether he be a member of the senate or not, can give a colour to such conduct by allowing himself to be classed, in any shape, with persons who could utter the language used on that occasion, or who can sit by to hear it. No object to be attained by *such* means can be of a legitimate kind.

Page 54.

(26) It may not be amiss to notice a circumstance which has

come to the knowledge of the author, and which marks most distinctly, the interfering spirit which has extended to this part of the kingdom. The clergyman of a very populous parish, in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis, taking occasion, from the pulpit, to touch incidentally upon one of those points on which the Reformed Churches differ from that of Rome, received an angry, insulting, expostulatory letter, before forty-eight hours had elapsed, demanding why he had dared to "speak against the ancient religion of " England." The author of this objurgatory epistle encloses the " Apostolic Vicar's letter," and, after complaining of the conduct of the preacher in particular, and that of his clerical brethren in general, concludes by saying, " whether you " choose to peruse the accompanying or not, I have at least " the satisfaction of knowing, that I have now stripped your " *crime* of the disgraceful palliation of *ignorance* !" Such is the *conciliatory* language of a member of this " meek and suffering communion," to a clergyman of our national Church, whose "*crime*" consisted in denouncing the disingenuousness of that Papistical practice of leaving out the second commandment, for the purpose of invalidating its obligations. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

(27) Mr. Horton's letters are dated from Downing-street, where that gentleman holds a high official situation ; but as this correspondence cannot possibly partake of any thing of an official character, it would have seemed more appropriate that these letters should have come from his private residence.

APPENDIX.

THE JESUITS.

“ There is a false and prurient species of charity, which, however
“ specious in appearance, and however common at the present moment,
“ is but the bastard and counterfeit of another and a nobler principle.
“ If the charity which would affect to comprise the whole world, at the
“ same time overlooks and despises the claims of its near kindred ; and,
“ while it professes to take in all the human race, spurns and slights
“ the superior duties which stand in the first relation, and are of the
“ highest importance : we need be at no loss to determine the character
“ of this species of charity. It may be ignorance, it may be impolicy,
“ it may be infatuation ; it is any thing else than the legitimate charity
“ of Christianity.”—*History of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 342.

CLOSELY connected with the subject of the preceding observations is the existence of the Society of Jesuits, whose fame is but too legibly recorded by the deep misery it entailed upon the world during the period of its greatest power and influence. Frederick of Prussia called them, very appropriately, “ the Pope’s body guards.” They have also been denominated “ the Pope’s best bulwark,” as forming a main pillar of the Romish Church. The all but annihilation of its power, during the revolutionary war, was, by some persons, mainly ascribed to their suppression ; and will account for our being gravely told by the great Popish lay Champion, Mr. Charles Butler, that the restoration of the Jesuits has taken place “ with the approbation of all good men.”

The *meritorious* actions of those *good men* have been faithfully recorded in the history of our own country, as well as of others; and we leave Mr. Butler and his "good men" to reconcile them upon any principles consistent with the Christian Character, with this additional observation, that, as Protestants, we fearlessly assert they have never been good and loyal subjects in this or any other country.

In pursuing the subject, it is intended, first, to notice that portion of it which more immediately regards ourselves, and then some of the occurrences which have taken place in foreign countries, arising out of the preponderating influence acquired by the Jesuits, the purposes to which it was used, and the miseries that followed, from the Monarch on his throne, to all classes of society: so that the words of the poet* may well be applied to it,

And history with its whip of steel
Has stamped the character of shame so deep,
That not Eternity shall wear it out.

The Society of Loyola originated with himself and five other members, who assembled at a chapel at Montmartre; on the 15th of August, 1534—it was sanctioned by Paul III. on the 27th of September, 1540. Loyola was elected General in 1541, died 1556, and was canonized, by Paul V. in 1609. Equivocation was nursed in its cradle, and soon after its birth its followers were dispersed over continental Europe, and all other parts of the world. Our own country became a prey to their machinations, and they were employed by Popes and Romish Princes, to sow the seeds of rebellion and assassination in the reigns of Elizabeth† and James, and until their influence expired at the revolution.

* Randolph's Muses Looking-Glass.

† De Thou gives an abstract of a memorial presented to the Pope, in this reign, in which the Romanists complain that the *Jesuits* were the sole authors of the troubles which agitated the English Church: and that

It is not intended to recapitulate the plots and stratagems, the contrivances and artifices, the prevarications and perjuries, which were brought to light in their various conspiracies against the lives of our sovereigns, and the constitution of these kingdoms, as they have been faithfully recorded, in "The History of the Jesuits," and elsewhere, and they are again brought before the public in two of the masterly productions already referred to in the preceding part of these observations.* But let us learn from thence to keep a watchful attention to their conduct, which is founded upon the same principles and actuated by the same motives as formerly.

That the Jesuits are still considered as a strong bulwark of the Papal Church is evident, from their immediate recall by Pius VII. soon after his re-instalment, and the countenance they have experienced in those countries from which they had been expelled. The Romish Church was smarting under the effects of the wounds she had received during the revolutionary war. The light had broken in after a long reign of darkness, and whatever could be brought in aid to uphold the tottering fabric (whether from the followers of Confucius, Mahomet, or Loyola) was eagerly caught at. The inquisition† was put into activity where it would be tolerated, and

before their arrival no Catholic had been accused of high treason: but soon after they appeared, every thing was changed. It is proved, beyond doubt, by St. Simon's Memoirs, that James II. belonged to the Society. Indeed, the famous "Memorial of the Reformation of England," written by the Jesuit Father Parsons, sufficiently establishes the fact. It was found in the King's closet, at the period of the revolution, and it ought to be read as a specimen of their *talent and artifice*. See ch. 10, on the Construction of the New Parliament, from which some of their advocates of the present day may have taken hints.

* The accusations of history against the Church of Rome, by the Rev. G. Townsend's Letters, 14 to 17. And Doctor Philpott's Letters to Mr. Butler, page 308, &c.

† "That inquisition," says Dr. Philpotts, in his 15th Letter to Mr. Butler, "which Paul IV. ascribed to the especial inspiration of the

the Jesuits, with somewhat less of public odium, but with equal craft and subtilty.

May it not be asked, how is it that we, in this Protestant land, should have tacitly allowed this pestiferous sect to plant itself in the midst of us? How is it that Stonyhurst, from being a place of obscurity and insignificance, should now present its lofty turrets, and extend its influence over a tract of nearly 1,500 acres of land; and that another establishment is erecting in this kingdom? Pupils are taken, who are "educated in their habits and principles, with the stern probationary formula of their old discipline." On their first settlement in Lancashire,* the surrounding district was entirely Protestant: it is now nearly all Papist. There is in each lease a clause, prohibiting Bible societies, Sunday schools, and the preaching of Protestant doctrines. They have a seminary at Hirst-green, a short distance from the College, and the Roman Catholic chapels in that part of the kingdom, which are numerous, are supplied with priests from the College. They farm their own estate, and employ no labourer, dealer, or handicrafts-men for their farm or College, but a Papist! This is the vaunted *Popish liberality* of our enlightened days! The first purchase of land made by Mr. Weld, some years ago, and given to the Society, has since been added to; but from what source have the funds been derived? Report says, from Rome! Doubtless Mr. Butler and his *good men* could tell us. The rules of education prescribed by the Society are rigidly kept up at the College. They say "the progress of the young student, not less than the discipline of the col-

"Holy Ghost, and, with his dying breath recommended to his Cardinals, as essential to the very existence of the Church." That inquisition "is again in being, not in Spain only, but in Italy: and he exclaims, "with honest indignation, "need I say more, THE MONSTER LIVES!"

* They came to England and Ireland, from the Jesuits' colleges at St. Omer and Liege.

“legiate life, require that he should not be removed, even at the time of vacation.” That is, in other words, we do not permit them to mix with society, until they are perfectly initiated into our schemes and system. It is not long ago, that a publication was issued from Stonyhurst, in which Protestantism was grossly vilified, where it is boasted that “the Catholic religion is again spreading itself over the face of the land, and that though it had been kept down by a series of intolerant laws, and almost extinguished *by the bloody persecutions of Protestant kings*, it is again taking its HEREDITARY attitude.”—This is the language of JE-SUITS, in ENGLAND, in the 19th century !

In Ireland, the Jesuits have a large establishment at Clongowes, another in the diocese of Meath, and one in Dublin, all on the increase: and purchases of land are making for others, and among the earliest acts of the Pope after his restoration was kindly to send a supply of those Priests to Ireland. The whole Society in England and Ireland keep up a regular correspondence by their own agents. They are all bound to “obey, without questioning, the commands of their general,” who resides constantly at Rome.*

Let us now turn to what little information the Irish prelates condescended to afford us upon this subject, in their evidence before parliament.

See Part I. to X. page 388, Dr. Doyle is asked, Is Clongowes in your district? It is.—How many Jesuits are established there, and when did they first come there? They settled themselves when I was upon the continent, so that I cannot tell exactly the year. The number of Jesuits in it, as I believe they are Jesuits in a certain way, I do not know,

* The account of their establishment, in the Roman Catholic Laity Directory, published annually, is very brief. We have nothing of the “*Secreta Monita*” of their order, of “*probable opinions*,” or “*sufficient grace*,” &c.

but I believe there are fourteen clergymen, who have the care of educating the young gentlemen resident there.—Do they wear the habit of the order? I see no distinctive dress about them, except a black coat *to keep them warm*.—Are you aware of the proper habit of a Jesuit? No, I never saw a Jesuit properly habited.—What is the extent of their property there? I do not know, they have a very fine house, but what is the extent of their property, I do not know.—Do you know from what funds, or by whom the purchase was made? I believe the purchase was made by Mr. Kenny, who is one of the family, but the purchase-money I do not know.—Is there any other Jesuit establishment in Ireland? There is a small house and chapel in Hardwick-street, Dublin, in which two of the clergymen of Clongowes reside. There is another, a small one, in the diocese of Meath.—What is the name of it? I do not recollect.

From this it appears, 1st. That although the Jesuits' College, at Clongowes, is in Dr. Doyle's diocese, he does not even know *the year of its establishment*, or the number it contains. 2d. He believes they are Jesuits *in a certain way*. (There are persons also who believe the Doctor is one *in some way*.) 3d. That they wear a black coat *to keep them warm*; but the Doctor never saw a Jesuit properly habited. 4th. That he does not know even the extent of their property, although in his own diocese!

Dr. Doyle is further asked, in page 389. Are the Jesuits subject to the jurisdiction of any Catholic Bishop? The Jesuits are subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Bishops: I know nothing *officially* of those at Clongowes being Jesuits: they are clergymen, but they can exercise no faculty of clergymen out of their own house, but in consequence of the authority derived from me. Do you happen to know, whether the superior of Clongowes, and of Stoneyhurst College, in Lancashire, attended at Rome, at the election of the last superior of the order? I know that two clergymen

of that house, at Clongowes, did go to Rome about that period, and I *do suspect* they did assist at such election.

1st. Dr. Doyle, as if afraid he had gone too far, in what he had said before, knows nothing *officially* of these at Clongowes being Jesuits; they are clergymen. 2d. That two clergymen of that town did go to Rome about that period, (i. e. for the late election of a superior of the order) and the Doctor "*suspects*" they did assist at such election!

Page 390, Dr. Doyle is further asked, Do you know whether there are any Jesuits among the professors of the College of Maynooth? I am sure there are not. I am quite certain of that.—Are there any Jesuits in Ireland, who have a dispensation from wearing the habit of the order? Those persons whom I mentioned as residing at Clongowes, and one or two in the county of Meath, are the only Jesuits in Ireland; these do not wear any habit of the order, except a loose cloak, and a *square cap*, which is the same as we ourselves very often wear.—Are not the examinations of scholars, at Clongowes, public? They are.

Dr. Doyle is *quite certain* there are no Jesuits among the Professors at Maynooth. Those already mentioned at Clongowes, and two in the county of Meath, are the only Jesuits in Ireland. They do not wear any habit of the order, except a loose cloak and a square cap, which, he says, "*is the same as we ourselves very often wear.*" Is this a token of fellowship?*

The Right Rev. James Macgaurin, before the House of Commons, is asked, by whom was Clongowes endowed? Mr. Kenny, I believe, was the undertaker of it, but from what

* Dr. Gee, speaking of the Jesuit Father Parsons, says, "Plotting and treason were the sole business of this Jesuit's life, in which he was so notorious, that Pasquin set him forth thus, at Rome. If there be any one that will buy the kingdom of England, let him repair to a man in a *square cap*, in the city, and he shall have a very good pennyworth thereof."

source he received the funds I do not know. He is the gentleman who now presides over the education of youth there? He is.—Is it probable that he was a man of sufficient fortune to have made that purchase? No; I am not aware that he was, nor of the source from whence he derived the funds.—Are you aware whether the source of that emolument was from abroad, or from individuals at home? I do not know.

Dr. Doyle, examined before the House of Commons. Can you inform the Committee what was the amount of the purchase-money of Castle-Brown: what was the capital invested in that establishment? I may be very wrong in what I say, but, to the best of my recollection, I think it cost £16,000.—You are not aware, whether that arose from funds contributed by several individuals, or whether it was the investment of one individual? No.—What is the number of pupils in that establishment? I said that I did not know; but I believe it may amount to 100, or 150; it may exceed 250, but I do not know.—The price of education there is high, is it not? I believe their ordinary charge is £50, or guineas, a year. Dr. Doyle adds, the pupils are very respectable, and he supposes there cannot be fewer than twelve or fourteen ecclesiastics in the superintendence of the establishment. “There is one foreigner, a Pole, a *simple good man*, who has been there three or four years. The others are all Irish. They have an establishment of a similar nature at Stonehurst, and it sometimes happens that individuals from that establishment, who are English, go over and reside, for some time, at Clongowes.”—“Are they of any particular order of ecclesiastics? It is said they are Jesuits.—In fact, are you aware whether they are or are not? I do believe they are: amongst the Jesuits, they are reputed as such; but then, the Jesuits are not recognised as a corporation, like the other religious orders; and, if they be Jesuits, as I believe they are, they do not seem, as far as I can understand, to act in any other capacity than that of

"individual clergymen collected together. They sometimes exercise the ministry, in the diocese of Kildare, but they do so *by authority derived from and subject to my control*," By the tone and manner of Dr. Doyle's answers we might conclude he belonged to the fraternity: and it might be well to ask, BY WHOM are OTHER religious Roman Catholic Societies recognized as *corporations*? He states, that two clergymen of the establishment at Clongowes did go to Rome, about the period of the late election of a superior of the order, and he does *suspect* they did assist at such election.—When did the Jesuits first come to Clongowes? They settled there when I was upon the continent, *so that I cannot tell exactly the year!*—At what age are pupils sent there? I believe they are received at the age of ten.

Such is the information received on this subject from Parliamentary documents. It is meagre indeed, and much more remains to be learnt and ought to be known: the very circumstance of the great secrecy observed among themselves is well calculated to excite unfavourable conclusions as to their conduct.

We now pass on to the events in which this society have been the chief performers upon the continent. They are not only very numerous, but of a nature to make humanity shudder:—that some of our Gallic neighbours are alive to the dangers of encouraging this society among them, is highly gratifying to know; and that there exists a very spirited opposition to the favour shown to it in some quarters, is evident from the freedom in which they have been attacked in several publications; amongst these it will suffice to notice the three following, viz:

1. Du Jesuitisme ancien et moderne, par M. de Pradt, ancien archevêque de Malines.

2. L'Histoire des Conspirations des Jesuites contre la Maison de Bourbon, par M. Eugene de Monglave et M. Prospero Chalau.

3. Mémoire à consulter sur un Système religieux et politique tendant, à renverser la Religion, la Société, et le Trône, par M. Le C^{te} de Montlosier.

They all contain a variety of well-authenticated facts and important information respecting the Jesuits, to which our present inquiry is limited.

By the first of the above-mentioned works it appears that from the period of the origin of the society, in 1534, to that of its suppression, in 1773, they had been expelled thirty-seven times from different parts of Europe and Asia.* M. de Pradt gives the following well-drawn portrait:—"Le Jesuitisme
 " excellera dans le choix des siens : il ne se bornera pas à ce
 " merite, de plus il possédera au plus haut degré le don d'at-
 " tirer à lui, de juger des dispositions de la jeunesse, de lui
 " inspirer le desir de lier son sort, au sien propre : il mon-
 " tera toujours une porte dorée de sa maison, et il se fera
 " accepté et recherché par les grands, désiré par les petits,
 " craindre par les foibles, supporté par les forts : il connoitra
 " les côtés foible des sexes et des professions, il frappera
 " les yeux par ses solemnités, il éloignera de son enseignement
 " la rouille du pédantisme. Enfant avec les enfans, roi avec
 " les rois, à la fois affable et tonnant, canteleux et simple
 " en apparence. Janus a deux visages. Protée a cent formes,
 " plus fidel à la haine qu'à l'aimitié, quoique cultivant celle-
 " ci, très attentif à conserver à son corps l'idée et la re-
 " nommé de la superiorité dans toutes les carrières, tenant
 " les yeux incessamment ouvert sur toute la hierarchie sociale
 " pour y juger sa position et pour se deriger d'après cette
 " connoissance. Page 135, 136."

* See an enumeration with places and dates, chap. 16, page 154. Alletu from the celebrated Melchior Cano, to the Confessor of Charles V. and in the infancy of their establishment, has the following remarkable passage. He says, "If you allow the fathers of this society to proceed as they have begun, the time will come when princes will not be able to resist or keep them within bounds." This was seeing clear and far.

Chapters 20, 21, 22, contain some highly interesting remarks upon the bull of Clement XIV. who suppressed the Jesuits, and that of Pius VI. for their re-establishment, showing the powerful motives which impelled the former and the false reasonings and contradictions contained in the latter document; they will both be given hereafter. Cardinal Bernis said, that "the Jesuits would never be quiet, until they were re-established; and, for this end, they looked forward to a Pope of less talents and less firmness than Clement XIV." This they found, in the lapse of forty-one years, in Pius VII. M. de Pradt well observes of the Jesuits, "Their motion has been *oblique* from their birth, and they are equally as averse to the plain upright path as they are strangers to sincerity in their conduct: in fact, they are enemies to truth and *out of the law*."

Cardinal de Bernis, at Rome, wrote a letter to the King of France, in the year 1774, in which he says, "The Pope would be but too well justified for having suppressed the Jesuits, if he would permit the publication of the documents of the investigation, but his regard for the peace and honour of religion prevents him from doing so." The Cardinal's letter to the Duke d'Aguillon, dated 16th March, 1774, is well worth perusal. See page 418.*

The present laws of France, strictly prohibit the Jesuits, still, however, they have found means to maintain a footing under various disguises and designations, such as they practised on former occasions; but latterly they have used less reserve. Their principal establishments in France are at St. Acheul,† near Amiens; at Dole and Montrouge, a village about a league from Paris. M. Rousin, Fayet, and

* The Abbé Barruel estimated their number at the time of the suppression, in 1773, at twenty thousand, but this was considered far too low. There were more than half that number in France alone.

† The Count de Montlosin relates the following anecdote:—A monk of St. Acheul waited upon one of the king's ministers, formerly among

the Duke de Rohan, peer of France, are the chiefs of the Jesuits. The Duke Mathieu de Montmorency, peer, and *governor of the Duke de Bordeaux*, and M. Ferdinand de Berthier, are the chiefs of the Jesuits of the *short robe*. (The Memoirs of Madam Genlis give an interesting explanation of this *term* in the second volume.) M. Fortis, the present general of the Jesuits, is a native of Verona, and a man of a very violent temper. He was long chief of the Jesuits at Modena, which unfortunate little city is, perhaps, the part of the world where these *worthy* fathers have most completely succeeded in corrupting the morals of the people. This is a very brief outline from the pen of a Catholic Archbishop, who was raised to the episcopal dignity by Pius VII.*

The next work to be noticed is that of Mr. Monglave, and, although it is chiefly confined to an account of the conspiracies of the Jesuits from time to time against the house of Bourbon, it contains a mass of general information, which deserves particular notice; frightful, numerous, and atrocious indeed is the catalogue of crimes recorded. It ought to possess a peculiar interest with the people of France, but it is not the less instructive to all the world: nor can it be too universally known, that it may operate as a warning against affording any thing which can tend to give countenance to such an institution, or any of its members, in a Christian country.

The following outline of the above interesting work, will not, it is hoped, be unacceptable to those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the original.

his disciples, and addressing him, said, " You do not know me, and " mentioning his name, he added, I suppose you will ask from whence " I come? My answer is, St. Acheul and I am a *Jesuit*, persecute me " if you please, I am under the protection and under the orders of God."

* See an account of the horrible conspiracy at Lisbon, against the king, queen, and royal family, 30th April, 1824, headed by Bemposta. Pages 340 and 438.

It appears that Henry IV. of France, had escaped *three* conspiracies against his life, planned by the Jesuits and the League, before he became king. At the commencement of the war in 1584, Capt. Michau was sent into the Netherlands, for the purpose of assassinating him. The second attempt he notices in a letter to M. de Segur, dated 15th August, 1588, in which, mentioning the recent assassination of the Prince de Condé, he says that a soldier, at Nerac, presented a petition, but his courage failed him; he was seized and confessed his intention, and that he had been suborned by the Jesuits at Paris. A third attempt was made at the instigation of the Jesuit Mongaillard, through Rougement, who confessed the same. Henry laid siege to Paris, in October, 1589, when the Jesuits made several attempts upon the life of the king. (*See Letter, 15th March, 1590, M. du Puy.*) Another attempt by a monk, named Neuilly, another by Barriere, who was executed 7th August, 1593, and one more, making the EIGHTH, before the king entered Paris, (which took place on the 22d March, 1594,) and all of them at the instigation of the Jesuits.

The University of Paris petitioned the king for the expulsion of the society. The celebrated Arnould pleaded for the University on the 12th, 13th, 16th July, 1594; he most ably laid open their diabolical plots. (See p. 70 to 76.) On the 29th December, 1594, Jean Chatel* stabbed the king with a knife, and confessed it was at the instigation of the Jesuits. Gueret, Guinard, and other Jesuits were arrested as accomplices. They were expelled by a decree, dated 7th January, 1595, but they contrived, by various shifts and stratagems, to temporize, although the king continued to receive accounts from different quarters of attempts meditated against his life by

* His house was razed to the ground, and a pillar, or pyramid, was erected, with inscriptions, to serve as a memorial of this horrid crime perpetrated by the Jesuits.

these men. On the 12th January, he was informed that Rasis, a Spanish Jesuit, had returned to France for the same purpose, to be assisted by two of the same society, named Guillame and Quayan. On the 21st February, the king stated to the Parliament that he had received information of the departure of seven Jesuits from Dijon, for the purpose of assassinating him. On the 2d March, Capt. Marleau, a leaguer, who had been a priest, was hanged for a conspiracy against the king's life. In July, the Jesuits Durdach, Frontin, Tonins, Ravignac, and Chateau Martin, were all arrested for the same crime, which was proved by their confession. Another followed soon after by the Jesuit Gasparin, at Lyons. In the ensuing month, four others were discovered, led by Gaspard de Canose, an ex-Jesuit. On the 16th February, 1596, Jean Guedon, of Angres, was hanged, at Paris, for a conspiracy; and, on the 8th March, La Ramée for the same. M. de Thou gives an account of a formidable conspiracy, plotted by the King of Spain, and to be executed by his agents Ledesma and Brother Pierre Owyn, Jesuits. The ELEVENTH conspiracy, headed by a Dominican, named Charles Ridicanne, instigated by Malvaisie, the Pope's nuncio in Flanders; he was tried and executed 3d April, 1599. The parliament, in the same year, refusing to register the famous Edict of Nantes, the king addressed them a speech, in which is the following remarkable passage.—“ I am a Catholic—a Catholic King—“ a Roman Catholic—but not a Jesuit Catholic.—I know the “ Jesuit Catholics.—I am not of the taste of those people, or “ of such who like them; they are the TUTORs of those who “ murder Sovereigns.” Who had better opportunities of knowing these men than Henry IV. and yet who was more their dupe and, in the event, their victim? This frank avowal of sentiment, from a noble-minded generous prince, was never forgotten by those unrelenting tyrants.

The Pope strongly urged Henry to recall the Jesuits: the Prince of Orange had been assassinated, and plots were going

on against the life of our Elizabeth.* Henry replied to the Pope with firmness, by letter, dated 17th August, 1588, and it would have been well, had he not afterwards relaxed. Two new conspiracies were detected, the one by an ex-Jesuit Langlois, who was executed, at Paris, in 1599; the other by Marshal Biron, in 1602, which cost him his life, and is fully detailed by De Thou; the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, are proved to have been concerned in this infamous affair with Father Alexander, a Jesuit, and La Farge. The Jesuits petitioned the king in person, when he was at Verdun and Metz, early in March, 1603; unhappily he yielded, and from that moment his troubles increased. Writing to his faithful friend and servant, Sully, he says, "These men have intelligence and correspondents every where; they possess the peculiar talent of directing the mind to answer their own purposes. The constant apprehension of being poisoned or assassinated, renders life insupportable, and I should prefer death to living in such a state of disquietude." This is a frightful picture, but a useful lesson: not all the concessions made by Henry could save him from the murderous grasp of these miscreants: nor would their Protestant advocates be more favourably treated, if, unhappily, they possessed the power. Father Cotton, a Jesuit, became his confessor. The society was re-established by council, 1st Sept.

* Father Campian, the Jesuit, who was tried and executed in the reign of Elizabeth for treason, addressed a letter to the Privy Council, which will serve as a general specimen of their feelings, in these words: "Be it known, that all Jesuits in the world's wide extent have long since entered into an engagement to cut off, by any means, heretic kings: and as to our society, I wish you to understand that all we who belong to the society of Jesus, scattered far and wide, through earth's expanse, have joined in a solemn league to overturn your measures, which we shall easily effect, while one of us shall be found in existence." These men, in obedience to the tenets of their church, are unchangeable in their principles, and we have the comfort of seeing them increasing amongst us!

1603, and, although confined to certain places and excluded from Paris, they gradually spread themselves every where.

Having gained this great point, their general, Aquaviva, lost no time in addressing a letter to the king, dated Rome, 21st October, 1603, praying for certain modifications in their favour; and, on the 18th December, the Parliament presented a strong remonstrance against their re-establishment, founded upon their past conduct: it boldly stated, that "*those who profess such doctrines and wish to remain in His Majesty's dominions must publicly renounce them.*" This long and important document says, they pretend that "*former weaknesses and errors ought not to be revived,* neither against them or against other orders.*" To which it was answered, that, in Spain, while the other orders remained faithful to the king, *the Jesuits* deserted him, and occasioned the death of two thousand monks and ecclesiastics. The king replied to this bold and admirable representation with kindness. A second took place; but such was the blind infatuation which had taken possession of his mind, that the edict for their return was finally registered on the 1st January, 1604. The regicide Chatel has already been noticed, with the pyramid erected upon the site of his dwelling to record his black deed. So powerful, however, had the influence of the Jesuits now become, that this pyramid was destroyed† on the 15th May, ten

* This is the very plea of the Papists of our day, when the unaltered persecuting doctrines and spirit of their Church is alleged against them, to which "the Evidence against Catholicism," by the Rev. J. B. White, has an admirable reply; he says, "This complaint should be addressed to the Pope and the Roman Catholic Bishops, by whose authority, consent, and practice, these *weaknesses* are *unceasingly* repeated for the instruction of the members of their communion."

† The Papists in our days, in like manner, would gladly see the Monument razed to the ground, as well as the statue of King William, at Dublin; because the former records *some* of their deeds and the latter, the downfall of Popery in these kingdoms.

years after it had been erected, and replaced by a fountain! Letters patent were granted 27th July, 1606, to allow them to reside in their house (St. Louis) at Paris, and at their College at Clermont; and having thus regained their footing, they were not slow to extend their influence and encroachments. On the 22d October, 1609, they obtained the privilege of giving public lectures on theology. They had, at this time, twenty-nine provinces or stations, two called vice provinces, twenty-one houses of profession, thirty-three of probation, two hundred and ninety-three colleges or schools, ninety-three residences, and ten thousand five hundred and eighty-one regular members. Still, however, during the conflict between the University and the Jesuits, another attempt was made by the latter upon the life of the king. See copy of a curious letter from Father Richeome, a Jesuit, to the king, dated Rome, 31st March, 1610, full of fulsome flattery and of assurances of attachment from their order; the better to cover the horrid deed which was, soon afterwards, but too successfully perpetrated against this kind, generous, and noble-minded, but infatuated prince.

Rumours began to prevail, respecting the TWENTY-THIRD and LAST conspiracy formed by the Jesuits, against the life of Henry IV. He received various warnings of the event, from different quarters, on the very day it happened, which he treated with his usual good humour; the rest is too well known to require any recital in this place. The fatal 14th May, 1610, records one of the blackest deeds of history, and the name of Ravillac will descend to the latest posterity, branded with infamy for having been the perpetrator of it. Father d'Aubiny, a Jesuit, was implicated: nor did the Duke d'Epemon, an avowed protector of the Jesuits, escape obloquy.

The death of the king, as may well be supposed, occasioned numerous artful publications, from the Jesuits, who were openly accused as the perpetrators of this horrid deed. A publication of the Jesuit Mariana, which pointed at Henry

III. who had also been assassinated, created a great ferment, and was ordered to be burnt by the Parliament, on the 8th June, 1610, with another, by the Jesuit Bellarmine, "On the Power of the Pope in Things Temporal." Various other similar publications were condemned. An attentive review of the black deeds, which have been here briefly touched upon, is well calculated to teach us the futility of every effort to "conciliate" such fiend-like spirits by any thing in the shape of concession; they form a bond of union with the Papists of our day, and the more that is conceded, the more will be demanded.

Louis XIII. did not escape their designs, as appears from the conspiracies of the Curate Montel, and the Jesuits Guyot, and Chappius. But it would fill volumes to attempt to describe their atrocities. Sixty-eight theologians, and others, are noticed by the Parliament, who attest the facts. Four sovereigns of Europe, five popes, many cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, have paid the forfeit to these vindictive wretches! Pascall's well-known "*Lettres Provençales*" appeared at a most favourable moment, and placed the Jesuits in their true colours; while Pope Alexander VII. under their influence, worked so powerfully on the mind of Louis XIV. that he granted them an extension of privileges; they were also favoured by his minister Louvois.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes took place on the 22d October, 1685, under Jesuitical influence, the cruel consequences of which need not be here detailed. Père la Chaire, confessor to Louis XIV. who was a Jesuit, died in 1709, and addressed these memorable words to the king, "Never take a Jesuit as a confessor—Ask me no questions, for I will not answer."* And strange to tell, this serious

* A late English Roman Catholic writer, in defence of the Jesuits, says, "If I were to found a commonwealth, the choice of my priests should have my peculiar care. I would not, however, be found often in their

warning produced no effect. The king took another Jesuit confessor, in the notorious Abbé le Tellier, who, on an occasion when Louis felt for the burthens he was laying upon his people, made this execrable reply: "All the property of your subjects belongs to you, and, in taking it, you only take what is your own." All that Louis had done for the Jesuits was not a sufficient protection against their assaults. A conspiracy was brought to light, headed by Seigne, Father Guillore, and the rector of the Noviciates of the Jesuits; notwithstanding which, they succeeded in the destruction of the noble establishment at Port Royal* and Chevreuse, and the Jansenists (defested by Richelieu) were persecuted. The Bastile was filled, and it has been computed that 50,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued in the first eighty years of the eighteenth century—*thanks to these good men!*

Louis XIV. died the 1st September, 1715; his son Louis XV. was scarce sixteen years old when he ascended the throne. Cardinal Fleury, who was at the head of affairs, instead of pursuing a firm, steady conduct, took an opposite line, and temporized, which occasioned great confusion. The Bull, *Unigenitus*, favouring the Jesuits, was opposed by many of the clergy, and several strange proceedings broke out among fanatics. The curate of St. Etienne du Mout, re-

"company, for the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of his prince, too often meddles in the temporal concerns of the state, which belong not to him." But it must not be forgotten, that the power here confessed to exist in the priest extends its influence over the minds of every member of the Romish communion.

* The direct descendant of M. Arnauld, who rendered himself so conspicuous in the noble appeal made by the University at Paris, against the Jesuits, in the year 1594, was at the head of the establishment at Port-Royal; and, although nearly a century had elapsed, this was not forgotten by the Jesuits, when they meditated this work of destruction:—they reverse what was said of Cæsar, that "he forgot nothing *but an in-jury.*" They are never guilty of a lapse of memory to gratify a revengeful spirit.

fusing to administer the sacrament to a dying person, not having a *billet de confession*, was summoned to parliament, and refused to answer the interrogatories, "because he was amenable to God only for his ministerial functions, and to the prelate his superior." "This principle," as was well observed by a writer of *that day*, "places the Jesuits above the law, and permits them to disturb the peace of the state with impunity." And is it not the same at this day, as to treason? In October, 1756, the Jesuit Larivet, came to Paris, and was heard to describe Louis XV. as a persecutor, adding, "Il faut que je m'en retourne, car ce benet pourroit bien encore faire quelques sotises." A general discontent prevailed among the Jesuits at this time, and on the 5th January, 1757, the execrable Damiens attempted the life of the king, by stabbing him with a knife: he was born at Arras, and educated among the Jesuits, who abound in that city, but he would own no accomplices.

A circumstance occurred among the Jesuits which created a great sensation. They had various and extensive dealings in trade, although contrary to the canons of the church; a man of the name of Lavalette (one of the society) was discovered to be engaged in a house of business, at Martinique, which became involved in difficulties, and, after much discussion, the general order was fined a heavy sum, to make good the loss. It was on this occasion that the Abbé de Chauvelin* addressed the parliament, in a most brilliant and powerful speech, in which a passage occurs not altogether inapplicable to our situation with our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. He says, "Que penser, messieurs, d'un institut ou tout est *mysterieux*, incertain, variable, qui ne presente dans ses vœux, dans

* Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, was lame. Abbé Chauvelin, who occasioned their expulsion, was deformed, which occasioned the following epigram:

Que fragil est ton sort, O société perverse !
Un boitu t'a fondé, un bossu te renverse.

“ ces règles, dans ces membres, dans son essence, et dans
 “ son existence, dans l’habillement même du plus grand nom-
 “ bre de ceux qui le composent que de l’incertitude et de
 “ l’immutabilité? D’un institut, dont *la resolution d’y vivre et*
 “ *d’y mourir sous l’obéissance du Général*, sembloit être le
 “ lien le plus fort, le caractère unique: et qui pourroit au
 “ moyen de ce que sur quatre classes de Jesuites, il y en a
 “ trois qui peuvent souvent n’en pas porter l’habit, se trouver
 “ tout à la fois repandu et caché, dans toutes les conditions,
 “ toutes les professions, et, peut être, encore dans toutes les
 “ religions.” He concludes by quoting, from a Letter from
 Jean de Palafox, Bishop of Angelopolis, to Pope Innocent
 X. the following remarkable words:—

“ Quelle autre religion a été si prejudiciable à l’Eglise, et
 “ a rempli, en tant des troublés les provinces cretiennes?
 “ Quelle autre religion a des constitutions qu’on tient secretes
 “ et des priveleges qu’on ne veut pas declarer? Quelle
 “ autre religion a causé tant d’angoisses, à semé tant de
 “ divisions et de jalousies, a excité tant de plaintes, tant de
 “ disputes, tant de procès? Quels fruits les peuples peuvent ils
 “ tirer de ses instructions, si elles excitent chez eux les discor-
 “ des? Quel avantage peuvent tirer les ministres, les grands,
 “ les princes, de ce que les Jesuites les servent quelque fois
 “ dans les cours, si ces religieux, sous pretexte du gouverne-
 “ ment interieur des consciences, entre avec tant de souplesse
 “ dans le secrets des maisons qu’ils gouvernent aussi bien
 “ que les âmes *et passent ainsi scandaleusement et pernicieuse-*
 “ *ment des choses spirituelles au politiques, des politiques aux*
 “ *profaner, et des profanes aux criminelles.*”

The Parliament ordered the Jesuits to produce the con-
 stitution of their Society in three days, from 17th April, 1761,
 and especially the edition published at Prague, in the year
 1757, which they evaded. Three decrees were issued in
 consequence, on the 3d July, to restrict their privileges, to

prohibit several of their publications, and to destroy others. Warm discussions ensued in the Council, in Parliament, and among the Bishops; till, at last, we arrive at that memorable day, the 16th August, 1762, when the Parliament unanimously, and after a sitting of sixteen hours, issued a formal decree against the Society of Jesuits, which ought to be inscribed in letters of gold. Amongst other things, it states, that it is well ascertained they taught and practised “attempts at the authority and lives of kings, which have been proved to have been executed by them in no less than EIGHTY INSTANCES, or more, from the year 1590 to 1752.” All which are recited in page 338, &c. in this volume.

The decree proceeds to state the various means by which the Society proceed to attain its object, and says, “Autant qu’elle se procure des membres dans les différentes nations, autant les souverains perdent de sujets qui pretent entre les mains d’un monarque étranger, le serment de fidélité le plus absolu et le plus illimité. Il est attribué à cet effet, au général, sur tous les membres de la Société, l’autorité la plus absolue et la plus universelle—autorité qui peut soumettre à ses lois des hommes de tout ordre, de tout état, de toutes conditions, même les plus élevés en dignité, en les liant à la dite Société par le vœu d’obéissance, sans qu’ils cessent de vivre dans le monde et sans qu’ils portent aucune marque extérieure de leur engagement.” These able remarks are continued in pages 343 to 349.

In defiance of the strong decrees issued, this artful and pestiferous sect concealed themselves, but did not altogether quit France. They were favoured by Clement XIII. who addressed a letter to Louis XV. and, also, to some of the Bishops to convene a Convocation of the Clergy: but the firm and dignified conduct of the Parliament prevailed, and an edict, in November, 1764, confirmed their general expulsion. From that period, however, they continued, but in a

more covert way, and, under disguised names, their machinations in different parts of the kingdom, and especially in Britany.

On the 14th September, 1766, the King of Spain issued the first Edict against them, which was followed by a second, on the 2d April, 1767, for their complete expulsion from that kingdom, declaring, among other things, "there can be no safety for the lives of princes, or their subjects, nor any public tranquillity, so long as a single member of the society remains in the kingdom. It is, therefore, declared that the said society and all its members are secret or public enemies of the state, of all legitimate authorities, and of the public peace, &c.

Clement XIII. remained the only patron of this horrible Society. They were expelled from Portugal, after an attempt to assassinate the king; and from all other countries in Europe, the sovereigns urged the Pope to do the same; and the 3d February, 1769, was fixed for the consistory, where this important matter was to be discussed. Clement XIII. died the day before, and it was reserved for his successor to accomplish it, which was done by Clement XIV. although at the sacrifice of his life.*

Clement issued a brief accordingly, of thirty-three pages, (Latin edition, quarto,) in which the whole case is most ably and clearly stated. It bears date, Rome, 21st July, 1773, under the fisher's seal, and the fifth year of his pontificate. On the 16th August, he caused the famous General of the order to be arrested, and thus completed this great and good work. Clement pronounced these memorable and prophetic words: "This suppression will cost me my life. But I do not

* See Memoirs of Scipion de Ricci, Bishop of Pistoie and Prato, containing much important information of the events of that period; and of the persecutions he endured from the Church of Rome.

"repent it. *I was bound to do it.*" He remembered the assassination of Henry IV. Clement died by poison, eight months after the suppression of the order.

In defiance of all these measures, the Jesuits still continued to evade their effects, and they covered their designs by artfully assuming *other names*. Thus, in 1775, they disguised themselves under the appellation of "*Cordicoles ou adorateurs du Cœur Sacré de Jesus.*"* In 1777, under that of "*Frères de la Croix;*" and these societies continued to exist until the revolution. Meanwhile, Frederick II. of Prussia, and the Empress Catharine, protected the Jesuits. The latter even went so far as to demand their re-establishment of Pius VI. which was granted, but confined to the Russian Empire. They were also secretly favoured by the Archduchess Marianne, at Vienna. Various attempts were made by the Pope and the Jesuits during the reign of Bonaparte, under the influence of Cardinal Fesch, their avowed patron, and also by the two Societies just noticed. In 1805, the Minister Portales was ordered to make a report upon this subject, which he did in very pointed terms, but no way favourable to their purpose.

Scarcely had Pius VII. seated himself in the Pontifical Chair, when he issued the bull, dated 7th August, 1814, for the re-establishment of the Jesuits. The reasons assigned by his Holiness for so doing are remarkable, and will be more fully stated hereafter, one passage must therefore suffice for the present. "We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst the dangers of the Christian commonwealth, we neglected the aids which the special

* The same Memoirs, see vol. i. ch. 13, on the *Sacré Cœur de Jesus*. Nor let it be supposed that such a part of the devotion of the Romish Church is become obsolete. A twelfth edition was published at London, in 1821, with an Indult of Pius VII. in its favour!

“ providence of God has put at our disposal: and if placed
 “ the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms,
 “ we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced
 “ rowers who volunteer their services in order break the
 “ waves of a sea, which threatens, every moment, shipwreck
 “ and death.” This sophistry was exposed in strong colours
 by M. Dumesnil, who denominated the Jesuits “ the haughty
 “ Militia of Rome.”

The conduct of the Emperor Alexander forms a striking contrast to this production of his Holiness. His ukase of the 1st January, 1816, which will also be noticed presently, banishes the Jesuits from his dominions, and gives the reasons for so doing in language not to be misunderstood. The Prince Regent of Portugal and the Emperor of Austria pursued the same conduct.

Spain and Piedmont took an opposite line and have received the Jesuits, and, after all the solemn warnings, they are tolerated in France, although contrary to the present state of the laws. Their system remains unaltered, and if there be no visible assumption of power, it may be attributed to the firm, temperate, and steady opposition of those who are alive to the dangers to which their country is exposed from these enemies of peace, order, and religion.* The work from which these extracts are taken, concludes thus—

“ We repeat, and we will not cease to repeat, that, from
 “ the evils which the Jesuits have already occasioned, we
 “ may infer those that will ensue, unless we stand up to op-

* A curious circumstance has just transpired:—Nothing less than that the English public should be indebted to the Jesuits Paper, *l'Etoile*, for almost the first intelligence of a newspaper printed and circulated among us, mis-called the “ Truth-Teller,” which has already been detected in a gross falshood respecting the *Richmond Penitentiary*. It gives a list of

"pose their further encroachments. The poignard which struck the best of Kings, now threatens his children."

It remains, very briefly to notice the work of M. Le Conte de Montlosier, which enters fully upon the present state of religion in France, and is well calculated for its meridian, and to rouse the attention of the public to a sense of danger from the Jesuits, against which it is intended to guard. It appears from what is there said that the influence of the Jesuits is mainly supported by a society of some standing, and now in full vigour, called the "Congregation;"* that, in fact, the Jesuits took that name before they dared avow themselves; but that day is passed. The Congregation, like the Jesuits, partakes of a religious, political, and mysterious character, as best suits its purpose. Several peers and deputies belong to it, as well as avowed Jesuits, the ultra-montains, and some of the clergy.

The author says, that an opinion prevails that France is more governed by the Jesuits, than by the king and his minis-

the most distinguished Roman Catholics who keep alive the cause of liberality amongst us, but of whom we, at least, never before heard, together with the places of weekly rendezvous; and "the noble-minded patriotic few, who assemble at the Twelve Bells, St. Saviour's, Southwark! From this, however, we learn that the Jesuits in France know more of what is going on among the patriotic few in this country than we do ourselves, and that it is one of the artifices used for promoting the interests of Popery among the lower orders in the metropolis.

* This society contained, at one time, nearly 50,000 members. Another, called the "Sacré Cœur de Marie," defended the bull Unigenitus, and the power of the Pope, one for the "invocation of the cross," "and one for the holy sacrament or holy slavery of the Mother of God." These were suppressed before the revolution, but their scions have sprung up lately. The Fathers of the Faith is another name for Jesuits.—See Appendix of "Evidence against Catholicism" by the Rev. J. BLANCO WHITE, for some curious details respecting some of these societies.

ters. It is well known how assiduously they have insinuated themselves, and we have not now to learn how perseveringly industrious they are to maintain their footing and increase their influence. The author gives a copy of a curious letter, written by Fortis, the General of the order, from Rome, dated 27th May, 1823, to the Mayor of Chambery, which letter was never intended to be made public, wherein the General expresses his thanks for the kindness intended by the inhabitants of Chambery towards them, and regrets that the present state of their society in France does not permit them to spare any individuals, as it *scarcely suffices to supply their establishments in that country and the pressing solicitations of the bishops of their dioceses, who furnish them with subjects for their society*. This was a secret which they did not intend to be divulged. The remarks upon the bull issued last year, on the occasion of the jubilee, also deserves notice: he calls it, "Une éruption de colère et de menaces, qui eu parraissant sans objet par rapport à la France, a paru aussi généralement peu apostolique et par la peu pontifical. Il nous a semblé entendre l'artillerie du Château Saint Ange, mêlée aux foudres du Vatican."

For further information upon this subject we must refer to the work itself, and merely add the heads of the "*Pièces justificatives*," which are well deserving of perusal. They are—

Tableau des Jesuites à Nantes.

Constitution de la Congrégation.

Arrêt de la Cour du Parlement de Paris, concernant les associations, congrégations, et confréries.

Arrêt de la Cour du Parlement au sujet des diverses assertions Jesuitiques.

Sur le tableau trouvé au Collège des Jesuites, à Billom.

In taking leave of these publications, it is once more necessary to bear in mind that they have been introduced, merely as far as they might assist to elucidate the subject under considera-

tion, namely, the society of Jesuits and their proceedings. There are many other points laid down in them to which we do not assent.

This important subject cannot be concluded in a more appropriate and impressive manner than in the words of the learned author of the History of the Jesuits, who says, " If Jesuitism, like her twin-sister Popery, continue what she has ever been since history has recorded her crimes, it is then a matter of no common importance that such a society should thus have gained so strong and central a position amongst ourselves, should be proceeding, unmolested, in the holy work of proselytism, and should be actually turning loose upon this nation so large a number of disciples, imbued with all the doctrinal and practical errors which have been superadded by Jesuitism to the native corruptions of Popery :—Among the many objects for which this country has a right to look for protection to its Parliament, as the natural guardian of its religious and political liberties, there is, perhaps, no one which stands out more prominently, which is pregnant with greater dangers to this nation, or calls for more prompt remedies on the part of its legislature, than the revival of the order of Jesuits."

It remains to insert some extracts from the bull of Clement XIV. for suppressing the order of Jesuits, and that of Pius VII. for the revival of it; to which will be added, in order to finish the picture of these modern Jesuits, some extracts also from the two ukases of the Emperor Alexander, taken from Dr. Phillpot's Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. which able production has already been referred to.

The author says, " I present you with some extracts from the bull which suppressed, and the bull which revived, the society, and I leave you to compose this bellum papale as you may.

Bull of Clement XIV. 21st July, 1773, DOMINUS AC REDEMPTOR NOSTER, for suppressing the Order of Jesuits.

"WE have omitted no care, no pains, to arrive at a thorough knowledge of the origin, the progress, and the actual state of that Order," and find that "accusations of the gravest nature, and very detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth, have been continually received against it." "We have seen, in the grief of our hearts, that neither these remedies (by former Popes) nor an infinity of others since employed, have produced their due effect." "Discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party, hatreds, and enmities. Desolation and danger grew to such a height that *the very sovereigns whose piety and liberality towards the Company were looked on as hereditary*, were compelled to drive them from their states, *persuaded* that there remained

Bull of Pius VII. 7th August, 1814, SOLICITUDO OMNIVM, for reviving the Order of Jesuits.

"WISHING to fulfil the duty of our Apostolic ministry, as soon as Francis Kareu and other secular Priests resident for many years in the vast empire of Russia, who had been members of the Company of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. of happy memory, had supplicated our permission to unite in a body, for the purpose of applying themselves more easily, in conformity with their institution, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to confession, and the administration of the other sacraments, we felt it our duty more willingly to comply with their prayer, inasmuch as the then reigning Emperor, Paul I. had recommended the said Priests in his gracious despatch, dated 11th of August, 1800; and we, on our part, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions might thence de-

CLEMENT XIV.

no other remedy to so great evils; and *that this step was necessary in order to prevent Christians from rising one against another, and from massacring each other in the very bosom of our common mother the holy Church.* The said our dear sons in Jesus Christ having since considered that even this remedy would not be sufficient towards reconciling the whole Christian world, unless the said Society was absolutely suppressed, made known their demands to our predecessor, Clement XIII. They united their common prayers and authority to obtain that this last method might be put in practice, as the only one capable of assuring the constant repose of their subjects, and the good of the Catholic church in general. Actuated by so many and important considerations, and, as we hope, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, compelled beside by the necessity of our ministry, which strictly obliges us to conciliate, maintain, and confirm the peace and tranquillity of the Christian com-

PIUS VII.

rive; considering how useful those ecclesiastics, *whose morals and doctrines were equally tried,* would be to the Catholic religion," "authorized them to resume and follow the rule of St. Ignatius, of Loyola, in order that the Companions might freely engage in the instruction of youth in religion and good letters, direct seminaries and colleges, and, with the consent of the Ordinary, confess, preach the word of God, and administer the Sacraments." "The Catholic world demands with unanimous voice the re-establishment of the Company of Jesus." "We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst these dangers of the Christian commonwealth, we neglected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if, placed in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea, which threat-

CLEMENT XIV.

monwealth, and remove every obstacle which may tend to trouble it—having further considered, &c. that, *it was very difficult, not to say impossible, that the Church should recover a firm and durable peace so long as the said Society subsisted*, after mature deliberation, we do, &c. **SUPPRESS AND ABOLISH THE SAID COMPANY**; we deprive it of all activity whatever, of its houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands, &c.” “None of them who shall become secular Priests or Clerks shall exercise the holy function of confessing and preaching without a permission in writing; nor shall the Bishops or Ordinaries grant such permission to such of the Society who shall remain in the colleges or houses heretofore belonging to the Society, to whom we expressly and for ever prohibit the administration of the Sacrament of penance (in which, of course, confession was included) and the function of preaching.” “Further we will, that *if any shall be desirous of dedicating themselves to the instruction of youth in any college*

PIUS VII.

ens every moment shipwreck and death.” “We have decreed, that all the concessions and powers, granted by us solely to the Russian empire and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all other states.” “We declare besides, and grant power that *they may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries: we authorize them to hear confessions, to preach, &c.* In fine, we recommend strongly in the Lord the Company and all its members to our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the illustrious and noble Princes and Lords temporal, &c.; we exhort, we conjure them, not to suffer that these religious men, be in any way molested, but to watch that they be treated with all due kindness and charity, &c. &c.”

The present Pope Leo XII. in a brief, dated August 5th, 1824, bears honourable testimony to the Jesuits, and especially to “*their fitness for the good education of youth, as the*

CLEMENT XIV.

or school, care be taken that they have no part in the government or direction of the same. In a word, the faculty of teaching youth shall neither be granted nor preserved, but to those who seem inclined to maintain peace in the schools, and tranquillity in the world.

PIUS IV.

most prompt and only means to reform men."

In order to make the whole view of the character of these modern Jesuits complete, I will add some extracts from two Ukases of the present Emperor of Russia, respecting those very persons whose merits are made by Pius VII. a main ground of the revival of the order.

In an Ukase, bearing date January 2d, 1816, having enumerated most flagrant instances of their abuse of the confidence reposed in them, such as follow: "to induce a man to abjure *his faith*, the faith of his ancestors, to extinguish in him the love of those who profess the same worship, to *render him a stranger to his country*, to sow divisions and discord in families, to detach the brother from the brother, the son from the father," &c. the Emperor thus expresses himself, "After such actions, we are no longer surprised that the order of these monks has been removed from all countries, and no where tolerated. In fact, *what state can suffer in its bosom those who spread in its bosom hate and disorder?* Considering it as a wise and sacred duty to stop the evil in its origin, *that it may not grow to maturity and bring forth bitter fruits*, we have resolved to ordain, 1, That all the monks of the order of the Jesuits immediately quit St. Petersburg; 2, That they do not enter our two capitals. We have given orders to our ministers of police and public instruction for the prompt execution of this determination."

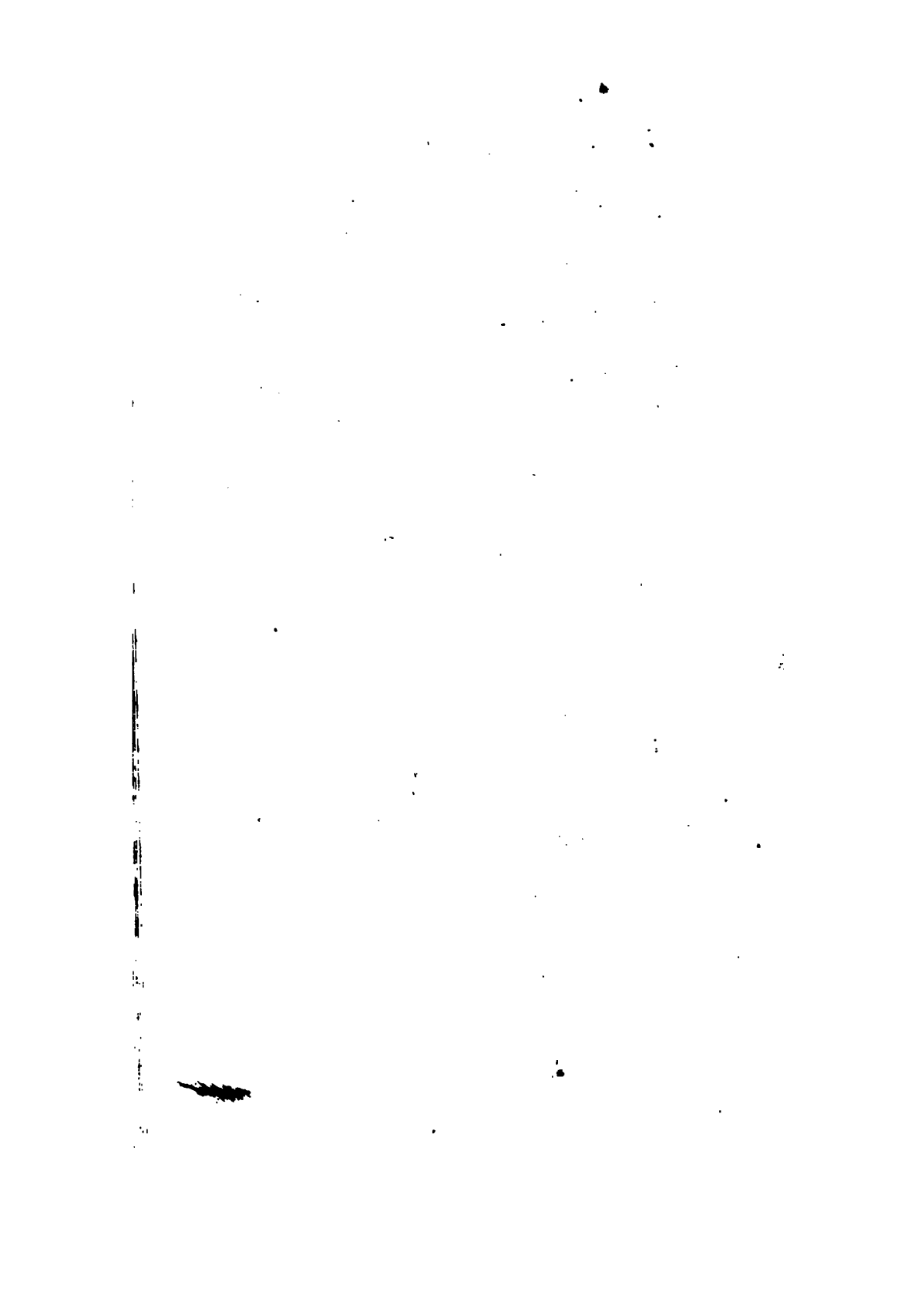
A second Ukase issued on March 20th, 1820.

" His Majesty the Emperor has approved, on the 18th of this month, of a report from the Minister of Worship and Public Instruction," which, after referring to the former Ukase, thus proceeds :—

" *The Jesuits, although sufficiently warned by the animadversions which they had incurred, did not change their conduct.* But the minister thinks it his duty to submit to the Emperor a system of provisions: 1, The definitive banishment of the Jesuits beyond the frontiers of the empire, with a prohibition of re-entering under any form ; 2, The suppression of the Academy of Jesuits at Polotsk, and of its dependent schools."

Such was the conduct, and such the end of these exemplary men, whose merit was made by Pius VII. a main plea, I repeat, for reviving their order ; such, too, I may add, is the order which has now very powerful establishments in this country and in Ireland. " And such are the persons whose " restoration, we are assured, has taken place, *with the approbation of all good men !!*"

THE END.



3.

J. H. 1826

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS

UPON

THE VIEWS AND TENDENCY

OF THE

FIRST REPORT

OF THE

“ COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH EDUCATION
INQUIRY.”

“ Thine own mouth condemneth thee.”—JOB.

LONDON :

JOHN HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY;
TIMS, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN; WAUGH AND INNES,
EDINBURGH.

1826.

366.



LONDON:
ROBINSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

1861.

PREFACE.

THE subject of the following pages was originally intended as the last or supplementary part of a much larger performance. It was proposed to exhibit a general view of the various Institutions which are occupied about the education of the Irish peasantry, with a reference to their distinctive characteristics and relative adaptation to the work in which they are engaged; and the undertaking had made considerable progress, when it was apprehended that the bulkiness of the publication would prove a serious impediment to its circulation. This discovery suggested the detachment of what had reference to the Report of "the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry," and as the subject is confessedly of greater importance to Ireland than any other which it would be possible to select, no other apology seems necessary for intruding it upon public attention, than what may be due for the

defects of the style in which it is presented. It was undertaken and completed amidst the pressure of important engagements, and if the subject itself has been rendered intelligible to common capacity, the principal design of the publication has been attained.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 12, *for tract, read track.*

— 14, — 11, *for was, read is.*

— 27, — 8, *for resource, read resources.*

— 60, — 6, *for Dr. Tushy, read Dr. Tuohy.*

— 62, — 4, *for in a circumstance, read in circumstances.*

— 88, — 25, *for latter, read letter.*

— 89, — 3 from bottom, *for sets, read sits.*

the other has abridged the question to the dictates of christian obligation, and the results of an intelligible experience. The clamour and protestation and remonstrance which is heard upon this subject, sounds to the former like a strife between distinct and conflicting sects, engaged in wrathful controversy about the sort of education which is best fitted to the peculiar circumstances of the country; in the view of the latter, it is the mere outcry of an alarmed selfishness, excited by the success of a system which is already in full and vigorous operation; and if the voice of patriotism and religious benevolence be distinguishable in the confusion, it is the expression of a

defects of the style in which it is presented. It was undertaken and completed amidst the pressure of important engagements, and if the subject itself has been rendered intelligible to common capacity, the principal design of the publication has been attained.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

IF the political anomalies of Ireland form, as they confessedly do, the peculiar feature in our domestic legislation, upon which wisdom and inexperience shew almost alike, it will readily be admitted, that the moral culture of her multitudinous population is one of the most embarrassing topics in the subject. There is no question presented to the mind of the statesman which seems to be invested with so many insolvable difficulties, while scarcely any thing in the view of the christian philanthropist would appear to be simpler in the principle, or more practicable in the execution. The reason of the difference is obvious. While one is at work with the weights and scales of political expediency, and stands exposed to the thousand influences of party interest inflamed by religious disagreement; the other has abridged the question to the dictates of christian obligation, and the results of an intelligible experience. The clamour and protestation and remonstrance which is heard upon this subject, sounds to the former like a strife between distinct and conflicting sects, engaged in wrathful controversy about the sort of education which is best fitted to the peculiar circumstances of the country; in the view of the latter, it is the mere outcry of an alarmed selfishness, excited by the success of a system which is already in full and vigorous operation; and if the voice of patriotism and religious benevolence be distinguishable in the confusion, it is the expression of a

forward anxiety to ward off the indiscriminating hand of legislature from the progress of a successful experiment.

It was but natural there should have been an original difference on this subject, between the views of the class whose conduct is regulated by considerations of secular expediency, and the class who hold by the obligation of principle in the abstract; but it is somewhat surprizing that experience should have done so little to approximate the parties, and that in the face of evidence which has demonstrated scriptural education to be both practicable and progressive, there should still be a very general disinclination to admit either one or the other.

The system of instruction from which Ireland seems destined to receive the elements of her moral regeneration *is not a subject in dispute, it is an operation in progress*, and the clamour which is at present distracting legislative attention upon this subject, consists in an effort of factious importunity to obtain such an interposition of public authority as shall assist in forcing the process aside from the meditated object.

That peculiar species of education which we are now considering, has little or no connexion with the earlier measures adopted in behalf of the country, whether of a public or private nature. The parochial and diocesan schools, established under the acts of Henry VIII. and 12th of Elizabeth, can hardly be said to have effected any thing deserving the name of national education; and the Charter Schools so far from having answered the views of the projectors, have, up to a very recent period of their history, presented such scenes of abuse and neglect, as leaves us in doubt about whether most of good or harm has been the consequence of their endowment. Nothing in short which could be considered applicable to the wants and necessities of Ireland was undertaken until acts of parliament were succeeded by efforts of private benevolence, and the stirring spirit of genuine christian philanthropy had charged itself with the performance of a duty which legislative dictation, and the mere authority of official parchment had never been able to accomplish.

At the time that the christian sympathies of the country first began to address the energies of private bodies to the difficulties of this undertaking, there was comparatively little resistance upon the part of those whose principles were nevertheless opposed to the experiment. In proportion however as the work proceeded, the danger of the consequences became apparent, and the spirit of a dormant hostility began to express itself through such organs as happened to have a local bearing upon the ramifications of the spreading mischief. Unconnected and discretionary resistance came to be more systematically expressed, and the feeling of the opposition was ultimately embodied in an appeal to parliament, clothed in the authority of hierarchical remonstrance.

This expedient pressed into the service of the opposition as much of legislative support as local interest and party politics could influence, and the subject threatened to remain a sort of standing order in the business of the nation. Having thus secured for itself the claim to a place in the the sessional discussion of public measures, it was consented by government that it should become a subject of public inquiry, and a royal commission issued for that purpose.

There is not probably upon the record of official appointments an instance in which the selection of the agents was a subject of more disinterested concern upon the part of government than the instance alluded to, and we are fully satisfied that no consideration of interest or political influence could for one moment have influenced their choice of the gentlemen to be employed. Whether indeed the remarkable diversity of sentiment and feeling which the Commission presents was governed by any view to the nature of the Report which it was thought desirable to obtain, or merely an accommodation to the very opposite feeling of the parties concerned in the inquiry, we possess no means of judging; but the variety itself was too remarkable to admit of a belief that it could be unintentional and, in our own view of the circumstance, it destroyed from the first moment of its appear-

ance every hope of success in the undertaking. We could discover nothing in the individual sentiments of the Commission which was likely to form a common ground of principle; and in taking a view of what appeared to be the prevailing drift of feeling upon the object of the appointment, there was but little to encourage the belief that the dictates of experience itself would be heard in opposition to the supposed necessity for a measure of the nature which has actually been proposed. Indeed it appeared about as likely, that the individuals composing the board should proceed consentaneously in the tract of experimental discovery to a common practical result, as that they should proceed from Holyhead to Dublin, after a counter-revolution had been produced in the axles of the steam engine which was to forward them to their occupation.

Before we proceed to examine the several propositions which the Commissioners have recommended for the consideration of the legislature, as the basis of a system of national education, it will be necessary to enter at some length into a comparison of the Report with the data on which it is founded, and what we conceive to be the actual experience of the country.

The mode which was adopted, to procure information bearing upon the objects of the Commission, was well adapted to the purposes of the inquiry. It consisted in a form of printed queries, addressed to the Parochial Clergy, Roman Catholic Priests, and Presbyterian Ministers, framed upon a scale of comprehensiveness which omitted nothing essential to the largest view of the subject, and at the same time judiciously fortified against the purposes of sinister machination. The Commissioners required that these queries should be separately answered on oath by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergymen of the several parishes; and as the force of such an obligation was considered sufficient to insure a return founded upon experience and personal observation, there was no room left to suspect a collusive or partial representation of *the subject*.

An additional security was however provided by the determination of the Commissioners to examine personally into the state of education in the country. "As it was impossible," they observe, "to rely solely on information collected by others, we thought it right to assign to ourselves respectively the examination of different districts, and we employed the greatest part of the summer in making a personal inspection of a great variety of schools for the education of the lower orders in every county in Ireland."

A third and valuable source of intelligence was "the examination on oath of numerous individuals conversant with the subjects under inquiry." So much for the channels through which the information was principally derived. It would be a presumptuous transgression of the proper limit of these observations, to pretend a knowledge of the extent to which this information, comprehensively considered, was permitted to influence the Report which professes to be founded upon it, but the nature of the relation that they bear to each other, and the degree of accordance which subsists between them, are questions in which the public is intimately concerned.

The first object to which the Commissioners directed their inquiries, was the "Incorporated Protestant Charter Schools," and the investigation occupies nearly four hundred pages of the Report and Appendix. This is a topic of so little interest to the public, and at the same time so unimportant to the general cause of education in Ireland, that we shall dismiss it with a very few observations, and these restricted rather to the mode in which the subject has been treated by the Commissioners than to the subject itself.

Whoever is in any degree acquainted with the constitution and history of the Protestant Charter Schools will see but little to regret in the severe condemnation under which they have fallen, and if we are not prepared in every particular to assent to the judgment of the Commissioners, we are equally unprepared to enter upon the defence of a

system, which in all the leading features of its character is unsuited to the present circumstances of Ireland. But whatever may be conceived to be the defects of the system it would be impossible to pass through half the space which it occupies in the Report without discovering such evidence of hostile intention, upon the part of the Commissioners, as we think is sufficient to impeach the judgment which they have pronounced; and if the Institution was really worth a defence, we should derive sufficient encouragement to enter upon it from the data of the Report itself. In the case of the three schools of Sligo, Stradbally, and New Ross, which are instanced as the worst specimens of cruelty and abuse, the evidence of the Report has been publicly and, we conceive, successfully controverted by the local authorities. The official investigation of the Sligo case, undertaken by the resident committee, was forwarded to the Commissioners, and will be found at the end of the Appendix to the Report. Two or three of these reported atrocities were fastened upon by the organs of faction, to serve a parliamentary purpose, and prosecutions at the suit of the crown were ordered to be instituted against the teachers implicated. One of these totally failed in court; and another has been abandoned for want of sufficient evidence to support the charges preferred.

The second object undertaken by the Commissioners was the "Association for discountenancing vice;" and the character given of its schools is, upon the whole, favourable to the society. "In the course of our inspection," they observe, "the schools connected with the Association appeared to us generally to be of a very orderly and highly respectable description."

In their concluding observations they state, "that the respectable class of schools which are under the care of the Association, though far more extensive in their operations and more liberal in their character than the Charter Schools, can hardly be expected to inspire the Roman Catholics or the Presbyterians with confidence, being *under the immediate superintendence of the clergy of the*

Established Church, the doctrines of which they have always consistently and avowedly taught to all who would consent to learn them. The education of the children of any other persuasion is so entirely an accidental and secondary object, that Presbyterians and Protestant Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics view this class of schools with some degree of distrust."

This opinion is any thing but calculated to do justice either to the objects or the practice of the Institution. No one who reads the summary will collect from it any other meaning than that the schools of the Association are established for the purpose of teaching "consistently and avowedly the doctrines of the Established Church," whilst the part of their system which can be considered common ground and equally applicable to the youth of other persuasions, stands in the relation to the first of a mere "accidental and secondary object." It is no part of our purpose to inquire into the motives which could have dictated such a palpably fallacious view of the subject, but if there be any truth in the evidence given in the Appendix to the Report, the converse of the statement must be the fact. Mutual general instruction, founded upon the word of God, and specially accommodated to all religious persuasions, *is the practice of the schools*; instruction in the doctrines and formula of the Church of England, *the supplemental and secondary part of their object*. The following extracts from the evidence of the principal witnesses examined upon the subject, will set this matter in its proper light.

The Rev. Mr. Lee.*

"Will you have the goodness to describe, as exactly as you can, the system of instruction pursued in the schools, and its application to all the description of children that attend? Children are taught to read and write; the books are usually provided by the children themselves, under the controul of the visiting clergyman, and the

* Mr. Lee having been engaged as Inspector to the Society must be supposed a competent judge of its practice.

master of the school. *There is no exclusive system of instruction observed in the schools."*

• Mr. Wilson, Assistant Secretary.

"What are the rules for the government of these schools; and what is the instruction given in them? The schools *must be open to all religious denominations; and we require that there should be no interference with the peculiar religious opinions of the children who do not belong to the Established Church.* The clergyman, who is the visitor, certifies to us, twice in the year, that he has carefully examined the children of the Established Church, in their progress in the Scriptures and Church Catechism, and is satisfied with it. We require that the Scriptures shall be read in the school by all who have attained suitable proficiency, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic; *but we have not objected in any instance, that I am aware of, to Roman Catholic children reading their own version.* Do you permit the Roman Catholic Catechism to be taught in the school? No; we permit none to be taught except the Catechism of the Established Church; but we *do not require it to be taught in the presence of children of other religious persuasions."*

The Rev. Dr. Elrington.

This witness observes upon the *practice* of the society, "No catechism is taught in the schools except the Catechism of the Church of England, and *that is not taught until the children of the different persuasions are removed from the school."*

In passing through the details of the Report upon these schools, we feel somewhat at a loss to account for the absence of all reference to the broad and liberal view of the Society's practice, which is so conclusively established by these and similar passages in the evidence of the Appendix, particularly when we discover that want of attention could not have been the cause. We meet with no want of attention to disparaging minutia, wherever it was possible to discover it. There is not in point of fact the slightest difference between the catechetical *practice* of the schools under the Association, and those under the

Kildare Street Society; except it be that the former will not consent to its schools becoming a vehicle for the communication of what the conductors cannot admit to be christian instruction.

With regard to the feeling of "*distrust*" with which these schools are said to be viewed "by Presbyterians and Protestant Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics;" we are really unable to discover that it is borne out by any thing in the evidence of the Report. Considerably more than half the attendance is actually made up of the denominations alluded to, and the Commissioners observe, with evident surprise, that of 15922 pupils, there are no fewer than 6344 Roman Catholics. If reference be made to the *geographical* situation of the schools, this will probably be found to equal *at least* the present proportion of the Roman Catholic attendance upon the schools of any other society. Before the opposition was stimulated by the appointment of the Commission, the proportion of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the Association schools was nearly equal, and in looking at the attendance upon the Parochial schools, where the same system exists, it appears that of a total of 36498, the Roman Catholic proportion alone amounts to 15303. In the archdioceses of Cashel and Tuam it considerably exceeds the Protestant. On this subject Dr. Elrington goes so far as to assume, upon the part of Roman Catholics, a *preference* for the schools of the Association, and it will be seen by the following question and answer that he presses the subject with the Commissioners, as one upon which he was not at all indisposed to risk his credit. "Are there any circumstances connected with the Association that you conceive it might be desirable for the benefit of the Association, or the public, to state to the board? The only subject I would wish to direct your attention to, would be to inquire whether I am correct in the fact I stated here, that among the Roman Catholics there is less objection to the schools of the Association than to the schools of other societies." Dr. E had previously expressed his conviction that they were "more popular with the Roman Catholics than either

the Kildare Place or Hibernian Societies schools," and in stating the grounds of such preference, he adds, "I think it has proceeded from the Roman Catholics imagining that the compact of not attempting to proselyte has been more faithfully kept in the Association schools than in the others; and from another reason, that with all the Roman Catholic's dislike for clergymen of the Established Church, they have more respect for them than for those who do not belong to the Establishment."

Without going so far as to pledge ourselves to Dr. Elrington's opinion in its widest meaning, we are certainly at a loss to discover practical evidence of the "distrust" which is said to exist; and every one must view the facts brought forward, as sufficient to supply a valuable datum in the true estimate of Roman Catholic feeling upon the subject of scriptural education, even where it puts on an apparently exclusive aspect. If the Commissioners were in possession of proof sufficient to support their position, they certainly have not given it to the public, and we may at least presume that they did not collect it from the locality of the Board room. It is a fact not unworthy of observation, that the two Parochial Free schools of St. Mary's, Dublin, are superintended exclusively by the clergymen of the parish, and have also Protestant teachers; but although the ecclesiastical complexion of these schools is so rigidly featured as to procure for them among Roman Catholics, the distinction of "*Minister's schools*," they have according to Mr. Bardin's evidence, "more on the books than the rooms will hold." This gentleman states, that "the attendance in each will sometimes amount to ninety, and that *the majority are Roman Catholics*, notwithstanding the influence of decided opposition, and the circumstance that there are at least three Roman Catholic free schools in the same parish."

From the Association for discountenancing vice, the Report passes to the "Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland," and it would require a considerable part of the time which we can

afford to the subject, to fix an intelligible scale of the comparative proportions of compliment and censure which are blended throughout a long and condemnatory reference to its principles and practice.

The operations of this Society are presented under seven distinct heads of Report. 1st. The number of schools and attendance. 2nd. The model schools. 3rd. The training department. 4th. Publication. 5th. Stationary grants. 6th. Inspection. 7th. Gratuities to Masters and Mistresses. Under the first head the Commissioners seem to entertain a doubt about the accuracy of the attendance, which is a point by the way, on which their scepticism was not confined to the Kildare Street Society. We shall have occasion to shew that this hesitation arose out of a general indisposition to entertain any data corroborative of the success of the present system, but in the mean time it may be well to quote an extract upon the subject, which will give the Kildare Street Society an opportunity of speaking for itself. It is taken from the Report which that Institution has just published. "Here," observe the Committee, "it may be proper to remark, that some doubts having been expressed by the Commissioners' Report as to the accuracy of the total number of scholars returned to them by your Committee, as appearing on the rolls of the schools, this subject was again *carefully investigated, and the result completely confirmed the accuracy of your Committee's statements.*" The Commissioners founded their doubts upon the general state of the schools which they examined in the country, but they make no account of the fact that their appearance in the country was the signal for breaking up every school in which the Scriptures were read.

Of the subjects contained under the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th heads, they express generally their satisfaction. On the 4th they observe, that the Scriptures, "the only work which the Society requires under all circumstances to be used in the schools, is not included in the grant." With the character and conduct of the inspectors, they seem

altogether satisfied, and request "particular attention" to their evidence. The 7th head is also favourably reported. On the subject of opposition an attempt is made to shift the cause from an abstract hostility to the Scriptures, and the temporary influence of the commission, to a pretended apprehension of proselytism, and in as far as the Kildare Street Society is concerned every endeavour is used to rest the motive of the opponents upon the connexion which at that time subsisted between it and Institutions which were of a supposed proselyting tendency. To aid this hypothesis, the opinions of Messrs. Jackson, Warren, Donelan, Griffin, and Daly, are brought forward.

It would occupy more space than we can well afford to give the evidence in which the views of these gentlemen are severally expressed, although we cannot pass over the fact, that *they do not contain a solitary instance of proof in support of the position.* As a specimen of the mode of examination which was resorted to in the attempt to procure such evidence, we particularly request attention to the 422th page of the Appendix. Here an effort is made to interrogate, or rather to persuade the Secretary of the Kildare Street Society, into an acknowledgement of the position, that the connexion with the Hibernian Society was the cause of opposition to their schools, and although misrepresentation is added to ingenuity, the result is such as can in no possible interpretation of language warrant such a construction of that gentleman's sentiments.

Mr. Jackson, among other questions, is asked, "Are you aware that it is a rule of the Hibernian Society that no version of the Scriptures should be used, but the authorized version? I was not" he answers "aware of that." It was hardly indeed to have been expected that the Secretary should have been aware of what, if it existed, was unknown to the Hibernian Society itself; for although it be true that the authorized is the only version which is given out from the depository, it is most untrue that the other is prohibited in its practice, and it argues, to say the least of it, a strange want of observation, that the Commis-

sioners should have personally examined schools under the society in at least three counties, where, as far as Roman Catholics are concerned, the Protestant copy is seldom if ever used. But it will be seen that the prohibition of the Douay version is venial in comparison of the charge that awaited the spelling book. "Are you aware that the Hibernian spelling books contain the commandments EXACTLY AS THEY STAND IN THE BOOK OF EXODUS, and not as they are taught in the Roman Catholic Catechism?" Mr. Jackson very naturally observes, "I have not examined the book with that view." "The Ten Commandments are in the Old Testament, and they might be fairly selected with other parts for the use of schools." There are few of our readers, we apprehend, who need to be informed that one of these commandments is *omitted* not "*taught*" in the "Roman Catholic Catechism." It is afterwards assumed, that the Hibernian School Society and the Hibernian Bible Society were one and the same institution, and that the irritation produced by the Bible meetings hit the Kildare Street Schools *à recochet* by the Hibernian Society. Such was the knowledge of the subject upon which the hypothesis of the Commissioners was reared, when they imagined, that one of the chief causes of the opposition experienced by the Kildare Street Schools, was the connexion which they had with the Hibernian Society.

In proceeding from surmise upon this subject to fact and proof, we shall employ the language of the Report itself. "Mr. Jackson," it observes, "has stated in his evidence, that he cannot call to mind any instance of an attempt to make proselytes in any school connected with the Society. He has heard that in some of their schools, which have also been in connexion with other societies, *it has been alleged*, that something improper in that respect has been done, but that *there never has been an instance authenticated; that he can never recollect even a charge of that nature having been brought under the view of the correspondence committee.*" If it had only occurred to the Commissioners to refer this question to the test of expe-

rience, by simply inquiring, whether the schools jointly connected with the Hibernian and Kildare Street Societies were more violently or successfully opposed than those which were free from such connexion, conjecture would have given way to the evidence of fact, a fact too in palpable contradiction to the hypothesis of the Report.

In treating of the subject of opposition, there is an attempt made to give an apocryphal complexion to the evidence which certifies the peculiar species of ecclesiastical denunciation by which it was universally enforced. It is quoted upon the evidence of Mr. Donelan, one of the Roman Catholic inspectors to the Kidare Street Society, that the priests indeed, "refused to give the parents absolution, and to church the women after child-birth, or to administer the consolations to them at the time of death, and if the children still remained in the schools they had recourse to the last resource, that of cursing;" but it follows, "In answer to other questions put to him, he said, what he had stated as to the conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy, he did not state to his own knowledge, personally he knew no instances of such conduct." We apprehend there are few who have read through Mr. Donelan's evidence, who consider it of much weight in the decision of any question; but we shall present the extracts referring to this particular subject in his own language, and only remark that the latter or explanatory part was given upon a subsequent examination.

In speaking of the opposition to Roman Catholic school-masters, he says, "I have known them (the priests) go to lengths that every enlightened Roman Catholic must deplore; I have met with a considerable number of instances which I could specify if I had my travelling book, but I can mention one in which the priest went so far as not only to speak against the master, but also to curse any person who would give him lodgings, and Mr. Hawks, the patron, was obliged to domiciliate him in his own house. How did the facts come to your knowledge? As inspector of the society, and from the Report of Mr.

Hawks. Had you any communication with the priest upon the subject? No; I thought from the manner in which he treated others, it would be imprudent in me to expose myself to the danger of something unpleasant. Except from hearsay, have you any knowledge of the fact? No, but Mr. Hawks is a most respectable gentleman, and one whose veracity I could not doubt. Have *you known* of any particular measures resorted to by the Roman Catholic clergy with respect to the parents of the children at your schools, in order to induce the parents to withdraw them? *Yes*: they generally refuse to church the women, and refuse to give them absolution, and refuse to administer the dying consolations of our religion at the point of death. Does that refusal extend only to the mother? No, the father and mother both. When a person is said to be cursed from the altar, does it mean an announcement of the intention of refusing those rights? No: cursing is an ulterior thing; if they refuse absolution to the parent, and the child of that parent still continues at the school, then they have recourse to the last resource that of cursing." (Page 449, Appen.) Whether witness was disturbed in the interval by forebodings of a black lent, is what we pretend not to determine; but in a subsequent examination we have the following explanation.

"You mentioned on a former day that the Roman Catholic clergy had recourse to very violent acts in opposing the schools in connexion with the Kildare Place Society, such as cursing people, refusing to church women after child-birth, and refusing the rites of the church; have many instances of that conduct come to your own knowledge? No; I must say, that no instance of the kind has come to my own personal knowledge; and I never to my recollection stated such fact to the Commissioners. I stated that I had been told of it sometimes by the patrons, sometimes by the masters, and sometimes jointly by both [quere, where], but I again repeat, that I did not know instances of this kind myself. Have many such instances been mentioned to you? No; few instances

have been mentioned to me that were well authenticated by the Report of others. If I am to believe the vague and perhaps unthinking reports of the world, I should be inclined perhaps to think it were general." (Page 506, Appendix.)

Mr. Griffiths is next quoted as having "*known* instances where it has been put to the proof that the priests have actually refused the sacrament to the people when dying," and it follows, "all the measures he has heard of are of extreme violence, denouncing the people, and stating from the altar, that if they read the Bible, or took it into their houses, that they should be damned, that the Devil was in the Bible." It is afterwards added, "In answer to other questions he stated that he heard of the facts he mentioned with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy, from Protestants, not from Roman Catholics." The part of Mr. Griffith's evidence to which these extracts apply, is too long to quote, but if the reader should happen to possess the Appendix to the Report, we refer particularly to the 510th page. Here it will be found that Mr. Griffith not only professed his belief in what he stated, but sustained it by circumstantial and (although Protestant) most satisfactory testimony.

The Commissioners next refer to the evidence of Mr. Malichi Daly, another of the society's Roman Catholic Inspectors; but let it be observed without any allusion to the conduct of the priests. Was this omission, it may be asked, a consequence of no reference having been made to the subject in Mr. Daly's evidence. This could not have been the motive, as the subject is distinctly noticed, and the following extracts will perhaps afford the true explanation.

"When," says Mr. D. "I first went to Donegal I was told that a few Roman Catholics were continuing in the school, although there had been opposition. I left the town of Donegal, and on my return to it, I went to hear mass at a neighbouring chapel, and *while I was there I HEARD the priest in a solemn manner declare that he understood that some of the Roman Catholic children still*

attended the Society's schools, and that he would refuse every spiritual rite in his power to any person who would send their children to the schools." In another part of his evidence Mr. Daly states, "*The priest of the parish TOLD ME that the master of a school in connexion exclusively with the Kildare Place Society had been refused the rites of the church for the two last years, in consequence of being master under the society, and THAT THIS REFUSAL WAS BY THE DIRECTION OF THE BISHOP OF THE DIOCESS.*" These answers will probably be sufficient to explain the omission we allude to, and to account for the fact, that the only witnesses cited from the number who had given testimony upon the subject, should be the two whose evidence is capable of being reduced to the level of mere *heresay* authority.

But there is another reference to the subject of opposition which we cannot dismiss without a few observations. The two Roman Catholic inspectors of the Kildare Street Society, are the only witnesses examined (if we except the bishops and priests of their church), who seem to have entertained a doubt as to the *ultimate success of scriptural education*; and while the Report quotes their evidence, not the slightest regard is paid to the consistent and unanswerable testimony delivered by a number of other witnesses in support of the opposite opinion. And why, we should be glad to know, is such pre-eminence given to the sentiments of Messrs. Donelan and Daly, upon a subject of which others, from their talents, experience, and opportunities of observation, were far more competent judges. Is it, that the opinion of two Roman Catholic inspectors, unsustained in the delivery by any thing in the shape of either fact or argument, is of greater authority than the matured conviction of at least a dozen of other witnesses. But we shall present a contrasted specimen of this testimony in the light of the Appendix itself.

Mr. Donelan informs us "that the system of the Kildare Street Society will ultimately prove impracticable, and that the Roman Catholic clergy will succeed;" and

this simply for the reason, as he states it, that they are religiously in earnest about their work. Mr. Warren, whose evidence is the first we have looked at upon the other side, observes, "I think the resistance of the Roman Catholic clergy will be discontinued, or if not, that it will become altogether unavailable for the purposes for which it has been excited; *I do not believe a single week has elapsed, during the last three months, in which we have not received letters, stating, that the children are returning to our schools.* Now if the power of the Roman Catholic clergy on that subject, is simply that species of influence that cannot be continued, to be exerted for a few months, while the Commissioners are sitting here, and while the Roman Catholic clergy have every inducement to persevere in their exertions, I do not think it is being too sanguine to expect, that if the people shall be satisfied that the object and practice of the society are fair and open, that the children are advancing in our schools, and not learning matters that they think improper, that the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy will subside altogether, or become unavailing." Here is not only an opinion, but the reasons on which it is rests, an opinion too, which will be found in harmony with the sentiments and experience of every other witness examined. These are a few and only a few of the discrepancies which are constantly presenting themselves between the sentiments and extracts of the Report, and the concurrent testimony of the evidence on which it professes to be founded.

The following is a summary of the Commissioners' opinion of the society's general utility, and the extent to which it is conceived to have succeeded in its object. "Upon the whole it appears to us, that while the society have succeeded beyond their own most sanguine expectations in some of their objects, they have failed in others. They have certainly failed in producing universal satisfaction; and it is observable, that while in matters which they consider of lesser importance, for instance, the issue of books, the arrangement of the model school, the training of masters and mistresses, their system of rewards,

and their directing the public mind so powerfully to the subject of education, they have conferred the most extensive and undoubted benefits on Ireland; the three points distinguished from all others as being fundamental and indispensable, are those in which, to a certain extent, their failure cannot be denied. The compliance with these three fundamental rules, we are convinced, is in many cases, merely nominal. The use of the Scriptures is frequently a matter of form. Catechisms are taught as freely in many of their schools as in any others, merely by the fiction of treating the appointed times as not being school-hours, and the selection of masters and mistresses, though nominally uninfluenced by religious considerations, are truly and practically confined to Roman Catholics, when the patrons are the Roman Catholic clergy; and to Protestants, when the schools are in connexion with the Association for discountenancing vice, or the patrons are clergymen of the Established Church."

Although there is but too much of this statement in which we are obliged to concur, the condemnation which it expresses comes awkwardly from the Commissioners of education. Every degree of pains is taken by them to represent the necessity of accommodating the use of scripture in schools to the regulations and discipline of the Roman Catholic church, which means that the priest is to "select the children who shall read the Testament, the version which shall be used, and the passages which shall be read;" and when we are presented with a specimen of the practice, it is immediately declared, that it reduces the reading of the Scriptures to mere "matter of form."

We cannot think that the Commissioners are more consistent in the application of the idea of "fiction" to the employment of the school-room for the objects of catechetical instruction, even supposing that the permission should lead to the occasional dismissal of the scholars at an earlier than the usual hour. It is one of the charges against the institution that the "supplemental education in religion, which all admit to be indispensable, is in fact

very insufficiently provided," and then in the use of the only practicable mode of supplying the deficiency, the unfortunate society is twitted with having recourse to "fiction." It is somewhat strange that the plan which is here conceived to be mere fiction in the practice of the Kildare Street Society, should happen to be precisely the plan which the Commissioners have recommended in their scheme of national education, with the difference that in the new system it must take place four times in the week, while in the Kildare Street Schools it seldom occurs above twice.

With respect to the exclusive employment of Protestant teachers, "when the patrons are clergymen of the Established Church," it is any thing but a correct statement of the fact. A very considerable portion of the Society's teachers under Protestant clergymen are of the opposite persuasion, and it appears from the list of admissions to the training department that *no fewer than eighty-six Roman Catholic masters have been sent up by Protestant clergymen for their own schools.* This statement furnishes no criterion of the total number of Roman Catholic teachers employed by the society, as there are a multitude of masters under its direction who never saw the training establishment. The observation however is strictly true in its application to the practice of the priesthood, and the Commissioners are perfectly correct when they state, that "the selection of masters and mistresses are truly and practically confined to Roman Catholics when the patrons are the Roman Catholic clergy."

The Report on the Kildare Street Society concludes by observing, that "the chief defect in the present system is, that while a compromise is rested on in the schools of the society, the supplemental education in religion is, in fact, very insufficiently provided;" that, in short, "they do not go far enough in religion." We agree with the Commissioners, that "the compromise rested on" has, in too many instances, had the effect of excluding religious instruction from the regular practice of the school; but if the Kildare Street Society has con-

sented to a compromise in practice, the Commissioners have recommended a compromise of principle. If the society has sanctioned a policy by which the reading of the Testament may be reduced to two or three lessons in the week, the Commissioners have proposed the rejection of the book, and all, as they would persuade us, for the sake of "religious instruction," which means that "Butler's Catechism," and the "Christian Doctrine," administered by Roman Catholic priests, may be more certainly depended upon as a means of religious instruction than the stated use of the New Testament. The principal difference then between us and the Commissioners turns upon the question of what constitutes religious instruction, or as it may be more properly expressed, instruction in the Christian religion, and we hope to make it appear that the substitute proposed for scripture is a something essentially different from what the British public will allow to pass under the designation which has been given to it.

Of "the Sunday School Society for Ireland," the notice is brief but favourable. The Commissioners speak of its practice and moral influence in terms of respect, and sometimes of high approbation. The fact is, that the Sunday School Society is insulated from the general education of the country, and being restricted in its operation to the limits of the day from which it receives its designation, it presents no barrier to the adoption of such a plan as the Report recommends.

Whatever advantages the Sunday School Society may indirectly confer in the mere art of teaching to read, it claims to be considered as decidedly religious in object, and it is religious too in a form the best calculated to bring the mind of the juvenile peasant under the full influence of divine truth. The scriptures are read, committed to memory, expounded with all the pointedness of personal application, and applied by the children in support of particular doctrines. A practice so exclusively religious, when synchronised by hymns, catechisms, and prayer, must be sufficient to keep the Roman Catholic

part of the population at a distance from the schools of this institution, if there were any truth in the interpretation of their feelings which is given by the Commissioners, particularly when it is considered that the parents cannot even meet Father Dominick with the usual excuse of writing and "the branches."* But what is the state of the case. The Commissioners inform us, that "the children have a peculiar pleasure in attending these schools, and instances have been stated where the endeavour to prevent their resorting to them, or to withdraw them to other places for instruction, has proved unavailing." If it had come to our own turn to give evidence upon this point, we were quite ready to depone to the fact of having known such preventive "endeavours" to fail, even when supported by an unsparing application of the horsewhip, and all within a few hundred yards of some of the "other places for instruction" which are referred to.

In the schools of this society, the Roman Catholic part of the attendance is much under the average of the day schools, and the circumstance is partly accounted for by the fact, that the Sunday pupils, in what may be termed the Protestant province, are nearly four times the number of those in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster combined. The proportion is however considerable, and in many schools which have fallen under our own observation, it has constituted a majority, which proves, as clearly as experience can prove, how inconclusively they reason who attempt to maintain that in scriptural instruction there is any thing really repellant to the Roman Catholic part of the community. But it establishes at the same time an equally important conclusion, which is, the impotency of ecclesiastical authority when it comes to be fairly tasked with strong moral inclination upon the part of the people. If there be an operation in progress at this mo-

* The phrase which is used by the lower orders when they speak of arithmetic.

ment, which, more than any other within the department of juvenile instruction, is dealing destructively with the very fundamentals of Roman Catholic belief, it is undeniably the operation of the Sunday Schools, and yet it is certain that in numerous instances the priesthood have totally failed in the endeavour to withdraw the youth of their communion from the danger. It cannot, we think, be denied by any who are really open to conviction, that this is an argument of great weight in a practical estimate of the actual feeling of the population upon religious subjects.

The next object of inquiry is the "Hibernian Society for establishing Schools, and circulating the Holy Scriptures in Ireland," and it does not require a spirit of divination to find out that the objects and practice of this institution were subjects of contest much nearer to us than the province of Munster. Whatever might have been the shape in which the Report of its proceedings left the hand of the original fabricator, there is strong internal evidence of subsequent dislocation, and the present framework of the design suggests the idea of a field of battle, to which neither of the parties had exclusively relinquished their claim. We must admit at the same time that much the greater part of the space is crowned with the insignia of hostile possession.

As a specimen of the sort of evidence which is made use of in support of the Commissioners' opinions of the society's character and intentions, we are first presented with a series of the most offensive extracts that it was possible to select from a publication *which preceded the actual existence of the society*, and for which it could upon no principle of common justice be held accountable. This happened to be the Report of a deputation sent over to Ireland with the benevolent intention of affording to a few zealous individuals, who were strangers to the country, an intelligible clue to some plan of becoming morally serviceable to its benighted inhabitants. It is an interesting, and any thing but an illiberal publication, but when subjected to critical scrutiny, it was

capable, like almost every thing else, of ministering to the purposes of hostile ingenuity, and it is not necessary, in ascertaining the views of the framer of the Report, to proceed a step beyond the perusal of the extracts which have been presented as a syllabus of the society's intentions.

In the course of their investigation, the Commissioners addressed a letter to a member of the committee of the society, requesting to be furnished with a complete set of its Reports, which was complied with. It was thought expedient to accompany these documents by an official communication, of which the following is an extract: "In submitting these documents for the examination of the Commissioners, it has been considered necessary by the Committee of the Hibernian Society to accompany them by such explanations and elucidatory statements as may be likely to obviate the unfavourable impression which an exclusive attention to the Reports themselves would produce, many of them being at variance with the present practice of the institution, and all of them, with the exception of the last two, defective in the statement of what constitutes the principles and regulations which form, at present, its distinctive characteristics. They are not objected to by the Committee as an authenticated record of the society's proceedings within the periods which they severally embrace, but they are *collectively* inadmissible as a representation of the society's existing practice. This objection to their being received as a standard of reference to the character and objects of the institution, the committee conceive to be fully authorised by the facts of the Reports themselves, as corroborative of a continued improvement of the system from the first year of its formation to the present period—an improvement, involving at every step of the process such omissions, amendments, and additions, as were prescribed by a careful attention to the society's objects on one hand, and an increasing acquaintance with the circumstances of the country upon the other." The committee, in allusion to these Reports, could not be understood as intimating an objection to *such* a reference as might be necessary to illustrate the

society's views and practice "within the periods which they severally embraced;" but upon every principle of fair dealing, they had reason to conceive that their letter would prove a sufficient guarantee against the views and proceedings of the committee of 1812 being identified with those of the committee for 1825.

The Commissioners, after they have given due prominence to whatever appeared unsightly in the pamphlet of the deputation, proceed to give extracts from the letter alluded to, and the last Reports, illustrative of the society's views of the distinction which subsists between conversion and proselytism. Several pages of extracts are then brought forward from the evidence of Captain Pringle and Mr. Gordon, and the design which governed the selection is manifestly the same as appears in the previous quotation. There are probably few who will arrive at the conclusion upon this society's practice which is intended by the Report, but those who happen to possess the entire of the information upon the subject, will easily perceive that this is not the fault of the Commissioners. So far therefore as a connexion can be supposed to exist between evidence in detail and a correct apprehension of the object to which it refers the public have continued, up to the appearance of the Appendix, ignorant of the true vindication of the society's principles.*

Mr. Donelan, one of the Roman Catholic inspectors under the Kildare Street Society is the next whose sentiments upon the subject are presented, and why, we are at a loss to conceive, unless it be for the reason that he was less acquainted with the institution and more opposed to scriptural education than any other witness examined. Being asked if he had "seen enough to judge of the effects produced by the society's schools," the answer is, of course, and to the point, "I consider their great object is proselytism." We are not however surprised that this witness

* The Report was published in the beginning of June, and the Appendix, containing the whole body of the evidence on which it is founded, did not appear until upwards of six months afterwards.

should have entertained rather scaring notions of proselytism, after having been assured by a most veracious clergyman, that the society had made one hundred converts in his own parish. Being asked whether the observation about proselytism "applied to the Munster Hibernian Society," he answered, "*No, it does not.*" Here by the way we have another proof of Mr. Donelan's consistency. The only instance of proselytism, of which he says he could speak from personal observation, *occurred in one of the schools of this same Munster Society.* Three Roman Catholic girls in a female school near Cove choose to turn Protestants, and Mr. Donelan, in the course of an official visit, was requested by the patron to investigate one of the cases, which he seems to have set about with considerable spirit. The girl was, to be sure, "of a peculiar and very obstinate turn of mind," but it would appear that she stood the test, and proved, even in Mr. D.'s opinion, "a sincere convert."

The Commissioners express their doubts about the accuracy of the lists of attendance produced, and we think unreasonably, although it would be useless to pretend that the evidence which is sufficient to satisfy one person's mind should regulate other men's judgment. It was however proposed to the board, that returns upon affidavit should be forwarded from the society's office at Sligo; but this proposition they declined, on the ground, that there was not sufficient time, although the Report did not appear until three months afterwards. "The effects," they observe, "of the general and strenuous opposition made to the schools of the society were marked, during the last year, by the withdrawing of a very great number of children;" but no notice whatever is taken of the return of by far the greater proportion of the same children, although the circumstance was certified to the Commissioners by the authority which proved their withdrawal. They conclude their Report of the schools in terms of peculiar disparagement, but we shall present the account in their own language, reserving to ourselves the privilege of a note and comment.

“ The funds of the society are not of such amount as to enable them to erect and furnish suitable school houses, or to allow adequate salaries to the teachers.” This is not the society’s fault, and therefore can furnish no ground of charge against it. There is no necessary connexion between brick and mortar, and moral efficiency in education, and it may be instanced as a proof of merit that a society, possessing but limited pecuniary resource, should succeed in extending the progress of useful instruction beyond the bounds of convenient accommodation; but it cannot, on any principle of common reason, be employed as an argument against it.

“ The schools,” say the Commissioners, “are frequently opened in remote and obscure districts, where little assistance can be obtained from local patronage or superintendence.” It is observed in a preceding page of the Report, that “ the interest of the schoolmaster is so directly connected with, and dependant upon the progress of the children in the peculiar course prescribed, that there is no opportunity for that latitude or for those evasions, which are found to exist in the schools of some other societies.” If these two statements are taken in connexion with each other, they will be found to contain a distinct acknowledgement that the peculiar efficacy of the society’s system is such as to render it in a great measure independent of local co-operation, and this in point of fact happens to be the case. Of all the charges, real or imaginary, which we could have supposed applicable to a society for promoting scriptural education in the deserted wastes of Connaught and Munster, that of betaking itself to “ remote and obscure districts, where little assistance could be obtained from local patronage” would have been among the last, especially when we are reminded by the same authority that the system must make progress “in the particular course prescribed, without such evasions as are found to exist in the practice of other institutions.”

“ Accordingly in those schools of the society which we personally visited, we found that with the exception of

such as were also in connexion with the society for the education of the poor of Ireland, or the association for discountenancing vice, or under the superintendence of powerful local patrons, the buildings in general were common cabins and sometimes mere hovels." We have only to invert this statement by making the exceptions the rule, and the Commissioners and the society are perfectly agreed.* In the classification of the day-schools, as they are distinguished by the character and station of the local visitors, there are 359 under clergymen of the Established Church, 231 in connexion with noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, 14 under Dissenting ministers, 16 under priests, and 121 in what the Commissioners would term "remote and obscure districts," where no visitors reside. Out of a total therefore of 741 schools, there must be 590 of the character which the Commissioners have thought proper to introduce in the form of *excepted cases*.

The Report proceeds to state, that "the masters are usually from the lowest ranks of the peasantry, and have themselves received but very little education." Assuming that such is the fact, the fault is chargeable upon 606 noblemen, clergymen, ladies, gentlemen, and priests, and not upon the society. The selection and appointment of teachers have been wisely surrendered to the discretion of the local patronage, and there it is where the responsibility rests. To suppose, however, that men of the character described, would be placed in the situation of masters, by the classes who are intrusted with the nomination, would be absurd in itself; and we can distinctly state from personal observation, that the description of the Commissioners, will only apply to the "remote and obscure" of the system, or in other words, to affiliated hedge schools, which exist in situations where no persons of re-

* Perhaps it did not occur to the Commissioners that nearly one half of the schools of the society were under the Kildare Street Institution alone, at the moment they were writing.

spectability reside, and are necessarily left under their former teachers.

The Commissioners proceed, "As might be expected in such circumstances, too little regard, generally speaking, is paid to cleanliness, order, and regularity." This in the case of the *unpatronized* part of the schools is certainly true, but manifestly inapplicable to the system at large. Again, "In most of the schools there is a want of the useful requisites, and writing and arithmetic appear to be less attended to than in any other class of schools." This also will apply to the unpatronized schools, and to these only. It then follows, "The great object of these schools, and that to which their attention is almost exclusively given, is the reading of the Scriptures, and committing those portions of the Scriptures to memory, which are to be repeated to the inspectors at the next quarterly examination." The great object of schools under the Hibernian Society is undeniably scriptural education; but it is not that to which their attention is "almost exclusively given." We admit, at the same time, that in the inferior class of schools too little attention is paid to writing and arithmetic, and the society would find their interest in giving these useful qualifications a more prominent place in their scheme of instruction. The committing of the Scriptures to memory is not, as the Commissioners seem to suppose, a school exercise, but is carried on in the cabin and in the field. The Commissioners conclude by remarking that, "Capt. Pringle and Mr. Gordon in their examinations, concurred in the opinion that somewhat more than two-thirds of the children in attendance are Roman Catholics."

Throughout the description which is given of the objects and practice of this society, it will strike any one who is in the slightest degree acquainted with either that the exception is generally put for the rule, and the rule for the exception. We meet with now and then an insulated testimonial in the shape of an extract from official publication; but it is left to

stand upon its own authority, and never permitted to influence the views and sentiments in which the character and intentions of the institution are presented. So far indeed from having any effect upon the descriptions which state the practice of the institution, these quotations are manifestly obtruded upon the Report, in opposition to the spirit of the original design; and while their averments are disregarded as evidence in the society's favour, there is scarcely a sentence in the Report itself which is not edged with the meaning or literal phraseology of a hostile reference in the evidence of ignorant or interested witnesses.

The "Baptist Society for Promoting the Gospel in Ireland," follows the Hibernian Society in the review. The Commissioners are very summary in their observations upon this institution, and proportionally inaccurate. They state that "the principles and objects of the Baptist and Hibernian Societies *are the same*, and as there is little, if any, difference between their practice, the observations made upon the schools of the one will apply to those of the other in all respects." As a specimen of the discriminative perception we allude to, it will be sufficient to adduce one or two quotations from the Report itself. The Commissioners while upon the subject of the Hibernian Society observe, "the society continued to combine the employment of preachers with the establishment of schools until the year 1814, when their plan was to a certain extent altered, and the *employment of preachers entirely given up*." Speaking of the Baptist Society they state, that "the employment of itinerant preachers is one of its principal objects," and that it not merely circulates the Scriptures but also "*religious tracts*." We leave it to the reader to find out in what sense it can be said of these societies that their principles and objects are the same; and that "there is little, if any, difference between their practice." But there is also a marked difference in the mode by which the school department of the two societies is conducted, if it were of any consequence to explain it.

The "Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish, through the medium of their own language," is the last upon the Protestant list. Perhaps the vernacular character of this society was thought to give to its objects and practice such a distinct and exclusive form as was sufficient to remove it from immediate connexion with a proscribed system, and if so, the circumstance will account for its faring so much better than the company in which it was found. It is favourably, although far from accurately reported; but this is a consequence of the indistinctness with which the society's practice is expressed in the particular documents and authorities which seem to have been consulted. We should suspect also that the conductors of this society owe at least as much to the lenity of the hand in which it seems their good fortune to have been placed, as to the merit of their system; although that is unquestionable.

We are next introduced to "The Brothers of the Christian schools in Ireland," as an association which "deserves peculiar notice." The schools under this brotherhood emanated from the head of the order, a Mr. Rice of Waterford, and are all of the most exclusive description, commencing instruction in the catechism* and the prayers of the Roman Catholic Church, as soon as they begin the alphabet. The religious and controversial character of the instruction dispensed, is hinted at by the Commissioners in the gentle intimation, that "it is not unusual to advert to what the teachers conceive to be the errors of the Protestant religion." In reference to the library depart-

* It is a very general practice in schools of a less objectionable description than those referred to, for the pupils to receive *oral* instruction in the standards of the Roman Catholic faith, long after they have become capable of receiving the same instruction through the medium of letters. The practice until of late years was very general in what are termed priest's schools, and was founded upon an indisposition to convey knowledge in such a form as should at the same time qualify the recipient for exceeding the prescribed boundary.

ment the Commissioners admit that "there are some books in the list that ought not to be put into the hands of children," a double set for example of Pastorini's Prophecies; but then "it is right to state, that Mr. Dunphy* says they were never sanctioned by the Archbishop or any of the Priests, and that he gave directions for their being recalled last spring." It comes out also, that there was another book not returned by Mr. Dunphy, which proves to be the celebrated Irish historical catechism "published for the use of schools, and marked Christian schools, Hanover Street East," a work which the Commissioners observe is "calculated to keep alive every feeling of religious hostility to Protestants;" but it is mentioned as an extenuating circumstance, that "it had not been used to any extent in the schools *as a class book*." "We might justify our censure of this work," say the Commissioners, "by quoting extracts from it, but we forbear, trusting that a better system and a kindlier feeling towards each other among every class of Christians, will at no distant period exclude all books of an offensive nature from every institution in Ireland." All very liberal; but we should be curious to know how much of this sort of Millineal sentiment would have been excited by the discovery of an abridgement of Fox's Martyrology, published for the schools of the Kildare Street or Hibernian Societies. In the room of meeting with a forbearance to quote, it is far more likely that we should have been treated to a fac-simile of the book.

It was hardly to be expected that the Commissioners should be very explicit about the origin of these schools, and they will not probably thank us for letting out the secret, that the two largest on the list, containing not fewer than

* If any of our readers should wish to see a full length drawing of a "Brother of the Christian schools in Ireland," we particularly refer them to Father Dunphy's evidence in the Appendix to the Report.

1500 scholars, were originally established upon the same principle which is recommended as the basis of the new system. It is however the fact, that the schools in Limerick and Cork, now under brotherly direction, commenced upon the liberal foundation of partnership without principle, and ended in the natural result of religion without the Bible.*

The plan of education pursued in the schools under this fraternity, is perhaps the most intolerant and mischievous which any individual or society has attempted to mask under the disguise of christian instruction, and nothing could be more hopeless, in a human sense, than the task attempting to eradicate the peculiar impressions which are burnt into juvenile feeling by the operation of the system. There are about 6000 orthodox larva in these poisoned receptacles, and the queen bee it seems is still in vigorous operation.

The survey closes with "schools conducted by religious brotherhoods," "Nunnery schools," "the sodality of the christian doctrine," and "Roman Catholic free schools." But the notice is brief, and the description of those under "the brothers of the christian schools," will serve, with few variations for the aggregate.

* The banishment of the Bible from these once flourishing seminaries was not merely attended with the effect of giving a new direction to the course of instruction pursued, it cost the sacrifice of the schools themselves, and in the case of Limerick, we have a more modern example of the same kind. A large female school for industry under some members of the Society of Friends, and one of the most prosperous in Ireland, was betrayed into the same compromise, and is either given up or reduced to a mere skeleton of the original attendance. This has appeared to be a uniform consequence of the policy described. We cannot call to our recollection a single instance of the Scriptures having been surrendered where a sort of judicial blight has not struck the establishment, and either brought it to total decay, or produced such a change in its moral aspect as has left it a monument and a warning to the neighbourhood. We shudder at the very mention of that conciliation which the message of Heaven's peace must be sacrificed to promote. It is the reconciliation of Herod and Pilate over the rejection of the world's Redeemer.

We come now to the general summary of the question, and having briefly compared the report of the several societies, with the information of experience, and the evidence of the Appendix, we shall first examine the accuracy of those views which treat of the character and effects of the same institutions in their collective form, and afterwards pass from the consideration of the present system, to the examination of that which is proposed as a substitute.

The Commissioners begin by laying down the position that "none of the different institutions which are now in operation, provide a system of general education, suited to the peculiar situation and circumstances of Ireland." The foundation for this opinion is stated to be the conviction that "the important object of giving to children of all religious persuasions such useful instruction as they may be severally capable and desirous of receiving, without having any grounds to apprehend an interference with their respective religious principles, has not been fully attained in any school hitherto established." Here then we put ourselves directly at issue with the Report, and in the attempt to prove, that the present system affords every facility for the communication of such "useful instruction" as the Commissioners refer to, without at the same time interfering with the religious peculiarities of any,—we propose taking our stand upon the experience of the country, and the evidence of the Appendix.

In the line of argument by which it is intended to pursue this inquiry, it may be assumed for the public, if not for the Commissioners, that the consideration of *popular acceptability* is entitled to a place in the experimental view of the question. How then stands the feeling of the country with respect to that education which has fallen under the objection of the Commissioners? It appears by the 14th Report of the former board, that the number of children in schools of every description, during 1812, amounted to something about 200,000; and although this could only be conjecture as it respected five dioceses out

of twenty-two, we hold it to have been well founded conjecture.

By the Report of the present Commissioners it appears that the gross attendance upon schools of the various descriptions through Ireland, amounts to 500,000, which proves in the short space of twelve years an increase of at least 300,000. If we adopt the Roman Catholic returns, it would give 20,000 over this number.

A material point to be ascertained in the question of increase, is the character of the schools in which it has taken place; and this we propose to illustrate by the following analysis of the present list of scriptural education, compared with that of 1812.

	In 1825.	In 1812.
Sunday School Society . . .	152,000	8,000
Kildare Street Society* . . .	100,000	none.
Hibernian Society, deducting exclusively Sunday scholars . . .	76,140	2250
Parochial and Diocesan Schools not connected with the Association . . .	20,576	7000
Association . . .	17,638	2808
Baptist Society . . .	8,000	none.
Irish Society . . .	8,216	none.
Methodist Society . . .	1,300	none.
Ladies' Hibernian Society . . .	5,000	none.
Total . . .	388,870	20,058

* This number greatly exceeds that which has lately been published by the House of Commons upon the authority of the Commissioners' returns; but we hold the subsequent declaration of the committee, founded upon a full investigation of the subject, to be a safer criterion than returns which refer to a period when the schools were in many counties reduced by an effort of opposition to less than half the usual attendance. The question refers to the scholars reported in actual attendance at the end of 1825, and not to the number calculated upon in schools returned but not yet opened.

By deducting the attendance of 1812 from the present list, it will appear that the increase upon schools in which the Scriptures are taught, amounts to 368,812. The only part of this number which is subtractable as duplicate attendance is a proportion of the scholars in attendance on the Sunday Schools, with probably the greater part of those under the Ladies' Society, who are also returned upon the Hibernian list,* and if we fix the number at 80,000, it is making an allowance which will generally be supposed to do injustice to our own side of the question.

This leaves us in possession of an increase of 288,812 in schools, where the Scriptures are read, and if this number be compared with the total increase of the same period, we find that it comes within 11,188 of the whole amount.

* These schools, which are decidedly the most useful and among the best conducted in Ireland, are perfectly distinct from the Hibernian Society in their general management; but as in many instances they derive the benefit of its inspection, and some assistance in salary, they are necessarily returned upon the Annual list. With respect to the children in Sunday Schools we have made an abatement of somewhat more than one half in favour of duplicate attendance. The Commissioners indeed, have gone so far as to hazard the opinion, that the total number upon the Sunday School list is to be found in other schools, which is just about as near the truth, as if they had affirmed of Sunday scholars, that they were omnipresent and every where. Mr. Robert Daly, one of the inspectors employed by the Kildare Street Society, gives the following evidence upon this point: "Do you conceive that the same children who attend the Sunday schools also attend the week-day schools? I think in general they do not; I think the Sunday scholars are confined to those children who are employed in feeding cattle, and cannot attend the day schools." In the Appendix to the 14th Report of the former Commissioners, a fact is noticed by *one of the present board*, which affords a better illustration of this point. "Very frequent," he observes, "are the instances (*in one parish not fewer than eleven*) of evening schools being established and regularly attended by children of parents *whose necessities do not allow them to dispense with the daily labours even of such young assistants.*" Now, if one parish could supply in 1812, an attendance for eleven schools, over and above the number who could be spared for day instruction, it surely is not too much to expect, that parishes in general should afford the contents of one school similarly circumstanced. The opinion of the Commissioners which we have noticed, is but one of the many evidences we meet with, of a disposition to depreciate as much as possible the success of scriptural education.

Is there any thing in this discovery to warrant the supposition, that these schools in the view of the general population, are "not suited to the situation and circumstances of Ireland?" For the question must after all be brought to this practical test. The opinion of the country as it is uniformly expressed through the medium of actual experience, is the only criterion which can be safely employed in the determination of popular feeling upon the subject.

But further, if we were to propose it as a question to the Commissioners to state, what they conceive to have been the cause, or peculiar combination of causes, which have operated in the restriction of scriptural education to its present limits, we should have the satisfaction to find that they could not employ their own objection as an answer to it. They could no more affirm, that the progress of scriptural education in Ireland had been checked by the want of a provision in the system for "giving to children of all religious persuasions such useful instruction, as they may be severally capable and desirous of receiving, without having any ground to apprehend an interference with their respective religious principles," than they could affirm that it had been checked by a gale of wind from the Atlantic Ocean. Whether such objections as the Commissioners have alleged against the present schools would ever be likely to operate as barriers to the ramification of scriptural education through every district in Ireland, is a question which it is not at present necessary to discuss, as we are able to answer with confidence, and without hesitation, that the *immediate cause* is limited to *the paucity of pecuniary resources*. The boundary line of the process has been defined by the amount of funds placed at the disposal of the conductors, and not by the internal influence of exclusive regulations, or the external force of ecclesiastical opposition, or the operation of both combined. If the grant to the Kildare Street Society had been fifty instead of thirty thousand pounds, there can be no doubt, but the effect would have been a cor-

responding extension of the schools, without the slightest departure from avowed principles; and if the sums placed at the disposal of the Hibernian, Baptist, and Irish Societies, had been double the amount of what they actually possessed we can take upon ourselves to state, that the last shilling of the sum would have been expended in compliance with the demand upon their resources. This is the simple view of the case which is furnished by the evidence of experience, and if any thing in the nature of hampering regulations in the system, or suspected motives upon the part of the managing agency are objected to as a cause of impediment, it is the putting of an assumption in the place of a fact. Experience having established the success, of scriptural education up to the limit of available resources, we are not aware that any other argument is necessary in answer to the charge, or as it may be more properly termed, the objection of the Commissioners: but as the stability of their proposition will be seen to depend upon the soundness of the objection we shall descend to particular illustration.

If there be any branch or division of the schools under consideration to which the objections quoted can fairly be supposed to apply, it must be the Hibernian and Baptist Societies; and we accordingly find that it is against these two institutions the censures of the board are most pointedly directed. The principles of both societies are not only described as objectionable in the abstract, but the closeness of the contact into which their practice has been brought with the schools of Kildare Street, is represented as the principal cause of the opposition which that institution has experienced. We shall, therefore, select the case of the Hibernian Society, as best suited to the purpose of the illustration, and for the simple reason, that if a negative can be proved in its practice, the consequence must hold in the case of every other institution. The Baptist Society, as making if possible a nearer approach to the extreme of what the Commissioners have represented to be objectional education, would afford, perhaps, a better criterion;

but in selecting this society, we should have to submit to the inconvenience of comparatively abridged experience, and also to forego the advantage of data peculiar to the other, which is of inestimable value in the consideration.

The practice of the society which it is now proposed to investigate, is confessedly most obnoxious to the Roman Catholic clergy, on the ground that it not only teaches the scriptures to all who are really capable of managing the letter of the book, but moreover insists that they shall be largely committed to memory. The latter part of the practice, as is well known, involves the habit of using the Testament in the cabin, and by that means risking the chance that its contents may become exposed to the observation of the ignorant parents, a crime, which, in the classification of the confessional, ranks very high on the scale of moral delinquency.* The real feeling then of the Roman Catholic population upon the subject of the Hibernian Society's schools is the question which we have undertaken to decide.

The first thing to be observed is the fact, that the condemnation of its principles and objects, which is met with in the Report, and in the evidence of the Appendix, is unsustained by the shadow of a reference in proof, either that proselytism, in the mere sectarian import of the term, is its object, or that the Roman Catholic peasantry entertain a suspicion that it is so. This total absence of criminatory proof in the evidence of objectors, coupled with clear, consistent, and satisfactory testimony upon the part of the society's friends and conductors, should, upon every principle of right judgment, entitle it to the benefit of a verdict. Laying however out of the consideration the

* A priest in the west, while objecting to a clergyman against the society, instanced this part of its practice as a very prominent grievance. He stated that "he himself had seen cobblers and mowers reading Testaments behind the walls and in the turf bogs, which they had got possession of by the children taking them home from school, and that in addition to the crime of reading for themselves, they had actually lent them to their neighbours."

evidence of the society's friends, it may be well to contrast the weight of the objections which are deducible from hostile testimony, with the force of the admissions which it contains.

Mr. Donelan is asked, "on what ground do you entertain the opinion, that it is the object of the managers of the London Hibernian Schools to make proselytes?" The answer to this question contains a logomachy of surmise and innuendo, which is much too long to quote, but it may be expressed in the following heads:—1st. "In the formation and constitution of the society there is sufficient to alarm Catholics." 2ndly. "The person (Mr. Blest) at the head of the society in Ireland is extremely zealous indeed, and entertains opinions very hostile to Catholics." 3rdly. "In support of the suspicion, that proselytism was their object, he would refer to the speeches of the Hon. B. Noel and Mr. Gordon." 4thly. "In proof of the charge that proselytism was going on, he had only to instance the case of a school at Sligo caught in the fact." 5thly. "The inspectors are not to be trusted, as proved by the circumstance, that one of them allowed a particular schoolmaster to expound scripture, and another consented to the *substitution of the Kildare Street extracts for the New Testament!*" On the first of these charges we are left in the dark, as Mr. D. has not explained the nature of his objections to the society's "constitution and formation," and we can discover nothing very startling in the complexion of a membership combining every creed in religion with every shade of difference in political opinion. The second is equally vague. We are neither informed of the particular bent of Mr. Blest's zeal, or the peculiar nature of his hostility to Catholics. The third is more tangible, and we are able to state from tolerably good authority, that the speeches of Messrs. Noel and Gordon contained in every instance the most pointed disclaimers of proselytism. They are however on record and will speak for themselves. The fourth charge refers to a school in Sligo, in which the scriptures were daily explained ac-

according to the permission which is granted by the rules of the society, and Mr. D. himself does not presume even to hint that the explanation was controversial. To the fifth charge we can only say, that if the permission was given by the inspector, which Mr. Donelan supposes, it was in breach of his instructions, and therefore not attributable to the society, and with respect to the substitution of the scripture lessons of Kildare Place for the Testament, it comes upon us as a new mode of attempting to make proselytes from the Roman Catholic faith. These are the most tangible specimens of the charges against the Hibernian Society which are scattered through the Report and Appendix. They are fairly stated, and we believe we may add, that they are correctly met. We shall next bring forward a few examples of a species of testimony through which the public may obtain a practical view of the society's proceedings, as they sometimes present themselves to external observation.

Mr. Griffith, whose evidence will be considered by every reader of the Appendix as the most sensible and consistent which is delivered by any of the Kildare Street Inspectors, is evidently under the influence of no friendly feeling to the Hibernian Society. On the contrary, he strongly recommends the disjunction of the two institutions, but his testimony is clear, experimental, and to the point.

The following are extracts :—

“ Can you inform us, whether the London Hibernian Society's Schools are more unpopular in Clare than they were in 1822? I think they are: at the same time, in saying unpopular, I should like to explain myself: *they are unpopular with the Roman Catholic clergy, but I have observed in going through the country, that the schools are not unpopular with the people, and I HAVE MADE VERY EXTENSIVE ENQUIRIES ON THE SUBJECT.*” “ Do not the Roman Catholic clergy caution the people against these schools? Unremittingly. Do not they inform them that they are highly dangerous to their final salvation? *They do.* How do you account for the peasantry not con-

sidering those schools dangerous? *From their experience of them.* Do you think that *even at present* the schools of the London Hibernian Society are not unpopular with the peasantry? *I think they are not.* Are you acquainted with that class of Roman Catholic Free Schools, in which the plan is to raise subscriptions by collections at the chapels and in other manners, and to take a school-house, to pay the master a fixed salary, and to administer education perfectly gratuitous to the children? I have seen such schools. What is your opinion, supposing the schools to remain as they are, and the peasantry were left to themselves, would the peasantry in Clare prefer sending their children to those schools, or to the London Hibernian schools? *To the London Hibernian schools.* In what way do you account for that? From the better progress of the children. Are there many of those Roman Catholic schools in the county of Clare at present? I believe they are numerous. Have you any doubt that the operations of the London Hibernian Society have had this effect, among others, of giving rise to those free schools upon the principle of rivalry? None. It being a necessary step in order to subtract the children from the Hibernian schools? Yes." So far the authority of one who had "made extensive enquiries upon the subject," and let it be kept in mind that his evidence is uncontradicted by a single fact in the information of the Report.

This approach to the actual feeling of Roman Catholics upon the subject of scriptural education, has been guided by opinion resting upon circumstantial evidence, and although there are few who will not admit that such evidence is decisive of the point at issue, it can scarcely perhaps be expected that any thing short of the testimony which expresses the actual sentiments of parents themselves will be admitted to be conclusive. Such testimony it is proposed to adduce.

Mr. Gordon, in his examination, refers to a certificate or testimonial of approbation proposed for signature to the Roman Catholic parents of children in attendance upon

the society's schools, and Captain Pringle is taken to task upon the same subject in page 694 of the Appendix. This measure was suggested to the society's agent in Ireland by the declaration in the petition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, that the system of education, which insists upon the use of the scriptures, is unsuited to the country, and opposed to the feelings of the people, and the document is particularly deserving of attention. The following is the first copy on which we happened to place our hand :—

“ We, the undersigned, parents of the children who receive education in the London Hibernian Society's Free School, situated in Scaravagh, half-parish of Cloonlougher and county of Leitrim, having been called upon by John M'Kenny, teacher, to express our opinion of the merits of said school over which he presides, do acknowledge with gratitude the obligations we are under to the society for the opportunity they have so humanely afforded for the education of our children, and do freely and solemnly testify, that although reading and committing to memory the holy scriptures without note or comment is required of the reading classes by the printed regulations of the society, no inspector, agent, or school-master in the employment of the society has at any time since the formation of the school, by any means directly or indirectly, sought to proselytise our children, or attach them to any religious denomination whatsoever.

“ We further testify that the society's regulations, which grant payment to the masters only for such of the pupils who manifest the required proficiency, in the quarter previous to the day of inspection, has, in our opinion, ensured to our children a more efficient progress than they would have attained in any school we could have sent them to, had we been in circumstances to pay for their education.”

[Here follow the signatures of forty Roman Catholic parents, and the prescribed affidavit, signed by A. Johnston, magistrate.]

About 400 copies of this certificate are in the society's possession, signed by at least 20,000 parents of children connected with the schools, and if the Roman Catholic

priesthood had not discovered the design, and exerted their influence to repress the signatures, the number of such testimonials would have equalled the number of the existing schools. To each document is appended an affidavit by the master stating, that the signatures are really those of the parties, and these affidavits are uniformly signed by the magistrates before whom they were sworn.

The following are extracts from Capt. Pringle's evidence upon the subject. "In what manner were those testimonials supplied to the parents of the children in the respective schools? They were sent to the schoolmaster, to go round and get the signatures and after he had got them he was to make this affidavit. Was any inducement held out to the parents? No, not the least. What does the affidavit say? 'The schoolmaster of the free school aforesaid came before me and made oath that the printed paper at the head of this sheet has been read by or in the hearing of all or each of those signatures which are attached to it, and that they individually signed the same, or affixed their marks.' Do you mean that each of the returns was headed by an affidavit in that manner? Yes. Do you not conceive that the Roman Catholic clergy of those parents would be extremely angry at them for signing such a testimonial? Yes they were, but the thing was done. Did the parents sign it without consulting them? Yes, upon their own spontaneous feeling. Did you hear of any declining to sign it? No, not one. Do you think the parents fully understood what they were doing in signing that testimonial? *Yes distinctly.*" It is left for the public to institute a comparison between the weight that is due to the unmeaning clamour which is heard about apprehensions of proselytism and the authority of these twenty thousand disclaimers. But we have not yet done with this branch of the subject.

The testimonials which have been adverted to are conclusive as evidence of Roman Catholic feeling, upon the subject of the Hibernian Society's schools, if it be but admitted that Roman Catholic testimony is entitled to credit, but we can imagine such a stretch of incredulity upon

this subject as would object to the evidence of any document in which the society itself might be a party concerned. If sceptics of this class will refer to No. I in the Appendix, they shall meet with an expression of Roman Catholic feeling, in the form of *voluntary and unprompted remonstrance*, and this too addressed to no less important a personage than the titular bishop of the diocese to which the parties belonged. This extraordinary document is the result of a contest which took place between the Roman Catholic clergymen of a district in Kerry, and the part of the peasantry whose children are in attendance upon some schools which were established by the Hibernian Society during the course of the last three years. It is signed by 428 Roman Catholic parents upon the part of about 1300 children, and as any thing in the shape of observation must have a tendency rather to weaken than strengthen the effect of the document itself, it is left to make its own impression.

If it has not by this time been established, that there is in the view of the Roman Catholic peasantry no just ground "to apprehend an interference with their religious principles," experience can be no criterion of truth, evidence is delusion, and Roman Catholics themselves are incompetent to express what their feelings really are upon the subject. *If upon the other hand it has been satisfactorily proved, that a well understood confidence is placed in schools under the conduct and subject to the regulations of the most vigorously opposed institution in Ireland, we have overturned from its very foundation the hypothesis upon which the recommendation of the Report is made to rest.* It will be necessary in the next place to proceed to the unravelment of that prevalent confusion of persons' interests and motives by which the popular idea of Roman Catholic hostility to scriptural education is kept up in the minds of such as are dependant for their information upon the evidence of mere report.

It would be impossible perhaps to discover that the Commissioners in the course of 900 folio pages have even so much as hinted at a difference of opinion upon the subject of scriptural education between the Roman Catho-

lic Priesthood and the peasantry they profess to govern; and it is to ourselves at least a circumstance of inexplicable mystery, that a distinction which experience is daily holding up to unprejudiced observation, should have been disregarded in a survey of the popular feeling that professes to determine its drift and preference upon questions of moral concernment. Is it possible that the Commissioners could have been ignorant of the existence of a contest which met them at every step of their progress? But if they were aware of its existence, which they repeatedly inform us was the case, it can hardly be accounted for that they should not have discovered it to be a *contest between the Roman Catholic priesthood and their own people*. Upon what principle then do they pretend to identify statements and feelings so dissimilar? By what rule of judgment can it be maintained that two conflicting bodies, whose views and feelings are in strongly contrasted opposition, should be combined in a description which is intended to convey to the public the notion of perfect agreement? In the oversight of this distinction, there is either a conspiracy of purpose against the feelings and the interests of the great bulk of the Roman Catholic population, or it is taken for granted that the authority of the hierarchy is the law of the people, and demands that place in legislative consideration which is claimed by the judgment and feelings of the body. Of the former we acquit the Commissioners, while we think they are justly chargeable with having given countenance to the latter. The view of the subject to which they have contributed the authority of their Report degrades not fewer than five millions of human beings to the level of a mere animal adjunct to a sinister despotism, by whose influence their moral and physical energies are supposed to be wielded at will, while their capability of free agency can only be recognized at the point where the mischievous operation of its power becomes the object either of legal restraint or penal visitation. That the poor man's civil and spiritual privileges should be offered as a bribe for the co-operation of his unrelenting task-masters, in a scheme which is calculated to add to the

weight of his bondage, is a proposition which we were not prepared to expect at this time of the day, but that it should be put forward at the moment when a whole peasantry are beginning to engage themselves in a contest for moral and spiritual existence, is a circumstance which ought to awaken the honest indignation of every man who values either the advantages of a scriptural Christianity, or the privileges of a free constitution. It cannot be too frequently or pointedly expounded to the British Government and the public at large, that the Roman Catholic population of Ireland are passing into a state of moral consciousness upon subjects which refer to the present and future well being of themselves and their offspring. If they have not in this struggle attained to such a discovery of privilege and freedom of purpose, as are necessary to concentrate and embody the awakenings of incipient conviction, and carry them freely and fearlessly through the galling restraints of ecclesiastical vassalage and the suspicions of mutual distrust, they are on that very account the more entitled to the consideration of legislative sympathy. It is we repeat it on this very account that arrogant pretension should be deliberately resisted, and every attempt upon the part of the Romish Priesthood to invest themselves with a property in the population they aspire to rule, or to thrust themselves forward in the attitude of intermediate negotiation met by the rebuke of stern and unfaltering decision, upon the part of those who are the conservators of our constitutional and religious privileges. There is no connexion whatever between the interests of the Roman Catholic Priesthood and those of the body of the people, and if the opposition which is so commonly and mistakenly conceived to combine and to force into contact with our exertions the hostile energy of a morally dissentient population, be divested of the influence of fictitious association, it reduces itself to the insulated effort of two thousand ecclesiastics, eked out by the mercenary services of demagogues and trading politicians. The substance and sense therefore of what is meant by

Roman Catholic opposition consists in the mere uproar which is created by an alarmed Priesthood at the apprehension of losing a monopoly in human conscience, and foregoing eventually the privilege of enforcing a spiritual prostration of intellect and principle at the shrine of a corrupt and degrading superstition.

To set about the proof of the distinction which is now insisted upon would be mere waste of time. It meets us in the daily intimations of an infallible experience. We read it in the broad and intelligible fact that there are at least an hundred and eighty thousand children of Roman Catholic parents in attendance upon the lessons of a proscribed system. It speaks to us in the opposition which is unrelaxed, and at the same time ineffectual in its exertions. We learn it from the records of every institution however sectarian in aspect or protestant in purpose, which has been advanced to the field of exertion, and more than all we listen to it in the utterance of that stifled discontent which is beginning to vent itself in loud and conventional remonstrance too unequivocal to be misunderstood, and too firm not to be effectual.*

The Commissioners as they approach the grand discovery continue to iterate the existence of "causes of distrust and jealousy," and their anxious wish to seek for the means of establishing "a system of united and general education." It afterwards follows: "On the fullest consideration which we have been able to give to the subject, we are of opinion that it is desirable to unite children of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, for the purpose of instructing them in the general objects of literary knowledge, and to provide facilities for their instruction

* We beg particularly to refer the reader to No. 2 in the Appendix. This document which is signed by a body of Roman Catholic teachers upon the part of upwards of 5000 adults of the same persuasion, is by many degrees the most important which the history of education in Ireland has produced, and it is only necessary we should add, that it is the *unprompted and unassisted production of the parties whose signature it bears.*

separately, when the difference of religious belief renders it impossible for them to learn any longer together."

As to distrust and jealousy it has been satisfactorily proved that they have no existence in the mind of the Catholic peasant, and are every day becoming less formidable as a stimulant in the purposes of the priest. With respect to "united and general education," and what follows about children of different religious persuasions being brought into the same school, it would seem as if no such object had been attempted in the practice of the country, and the best answer to such observations is simply a reference to the list of existing schools. But then we are told of a point at which the difference of religious belief renders it impossible for pupils of the opposite persuasions to learn any longer together. As it is the opinion of the conductors of the present system that children may learn the religion of the Bible together for a much longer period than the ordinary opportunities of education will admit, they have not in their experience reached the point which the Commissioners refer to.* There would appear to be something extremely paradoxical in the attempt to prevent disunion by the exclusion of the only book upon the character and purport of which there can be no difference of opinion, while it was sought to produce harmony by the introduction of what is at once the offspring and the cause of irreconcilable disagreement.

To afford a fair view of the plan proposed by the Commissioners, it will be necessary to present it in their own language. "We propose," they observe, "that public schools of general instruction shall be established, one at least in each benefice, in which literary instruction shall be communicated to children of all religious persuasions; that two teachers, to be appointed by the general superintending authority, (the establishment of which we

* One of the most dangerous and unauthorized assumptions of the Report is a distinction between *religious instruction* and the knowledge which is derived from the habitual use of Scripture unassisted by catechetical exposition. We particularly request attention to No. 3, in the Appendix, as a practical illustration of what is meant by *New Testament instruction*.

shall subsequently recommend,) shall be employed in each school where the extent of attendance shall be sufficient to justify the expense; that they shall each of them be laymen and that one of them shall be a Roman Catholic where any considerable number of Roman Catholics are in attendance on the school, and that a Presbyterian teacher shall be provided in those schools where the number of children belonging to that communion shall render such appointment necessary or expedient; that on two days in the week the school shall break up at an earlier hour, and the remainder of the day be devoted to the separate religious instruction of the Protestants, the clergyman of the Established Church attending for the purpose at once of superintendence and assistance, and the Presbyterian minister likewise, if he shall so think fit, for the children of his communion. That on two other days of the week the school rooms of general instruction shall in like manner be set apart for the Roman Catholic children, on which occasions, under the care of a Roman Catholic lay teacher approved of, as mentioned in the minute which we have given, they shall read the epistles and gospels of the week as therein mentioned, and receive such other religious instruction as their Pastors (who may attend if they think fit) shall direct. It may be right to notice that in the Roman Catholic church there are epistles and gospels appointed, not for Sundays only, but for almost every day in the year, and they comprise altogether a large portion of the Old and New Testament." "We think it further necessary that means should be provided for supplying Testaments according to the authorized version for Protestant children. With respect to the Roman Catholic children an edition of the New Testament for their use has been submitted us by the Roman Catholic Prelates. The text of this edition is the Douay Version, almost all the notes, however, originally annexed to that version have been omitted. We find, in fact, that there are only sixty three notes altogether to the four gospels, and these, with the exception of an inconsiderable number have no peculiar reference to the doctrines of the Roman

Catholic Church, as distinguished from those of the Protestant churches, and such as have this peculiar reference are expressed in a manner which ought not we think to be offensive to any description of persons. The summaries prefixed to the different chapters, are in like manner, as it appears to us, unobjectionable. To this edition is also annexed a table of the epistles and gospels throughout the year, specifying the portions of the scriptures appointed to be read for those purposes by the Roman Catholic church."

"Deeply impressed with the importance and necessity of introducing the scriptures into all institutions for the education of the people, as a fundamental part of instruction, we recommend that copies of this edition of the Testament, omitting the address thereto prefixed, but retaining the notes, should be furnished for the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children, in every school established upon the system proposed. It will be for the Roman Catholic clergy to supply such other books for the purpose of religious instruction as they may desire. We would suggest, however, that many forms of catechisms are now in use amongst the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and that it would be expedient that some one or two should be selected or compiled for general use."

The simplest view of treating the subject, appears to be that of distinguishing between what the Commissioners describe as "general literary instruction," and "separate religious instruction." In following out the order of this arrangement we shall consider in the first place the teachers, and the character of the general instruction proposed, and afterwards the nature and tendency of the religious course, including a reference to the motives and policy of those who are to administer it.

The extent of proof which has been adduced in support of the distinctness of feeling that exists between the Roman Catholic Priesthood and the great body of the peasantry upon the subject of education, renders it unnecessary to return to the subject, or to multiply arguments and illustrations in support of the position, that the people generally have confidence in the present teachers

of the country, even in cases where they happen to combine the office with the somewhat unpopular distinction of Parish Clerk. The justification of the plan for supplying a double set of masters to each school must therefore be conceived to rest upon the deference which is claimed by the views and feelings of the Roman Catholic clergy, and this if it does not remove the ground of a supposed necessity in the case, is sufficient to divest the proposition of the weight of popular dictation. But although it be true, that no jealousy is entertained of the present arrangement, it does not necessarily follow that jealousy is incapable of being excited by a differently constituted superintendence. And is not the very first blush of a distinction in the governorship of each school calculated to excite a feeling of mutual distrust, which if our premises be correct, had no previous existence in the mind of the attendance. Does it not body forth in personal contrast, an irreconcilable difference between the meaning of the terms Catholic and Protestant, and introduce a well defined and intelligible suspicion, that those whom they designate cannot drink with safety at the same fountain of instruction unless it be guarded by the sentinels of faction. To obtrude upon every school in the country a governing representation of religiously hostile professions, must inculcate the lesson, that there is nothing which will bear to be considered common in the essence or the origin of the christianity which is taught; and the same cause will necessarily embody, concentrate and bring into pointed and personal collision the elements of political discord, and strike from the youthful intercourse of every parish, the first sparks of a latent combustion which is fast expiring, under the power of a successful and daily extending experiment. But the recommendation of the Commissioners does more than threaten to interfere with an order of things which is calculated to mitigate and ultimately extinguish the present causes of religious and political irritation. It proposes that the only point of peaceful union which promiscuous society in Ireland presents shall be turned by a vote of parliament into the parade-ground of faction, and become

the conductor of a stimulus to the worst passions of the populace, which in the eventual developement of its effects may contribute more victims to the gibbet, and the transport, than even the school of Captain Rock itself. We have no longer to do with a case in which the juvenile awakenings of religious and political antipathy are left to the fostering influence of those abstract and general causes which are unhappily peculiar to the constitution of Irish society. It is gravely proposed, that the rising hostility shall be placed under the stimulant influence of a political tutorship, as the best means of giving depth and permanence to the distinction which it is so desirable to impress, and if we are permitted to reason from the constitution of human nature, and the inflammability of Irish feeling, we can trace nothing in the progress of such a school as the Commissioners recommend, but a moral decomposition of principle and character, resulting in the formation of two powerfully repellant aggregates. That transition process from obstinate bigotry and political hatred to christian and brotherly sympathy, which is now going on under the plastic influence of a revelation of peace and good will to men, will receive an instant check in every quarter, where the irritative influence of the new system is brought to act; and the issues of political turbulence will be opened in the very fountain source of infant feeling. Hitherto the Moloch of faction has been fed with victims from the ranks of a misguided manhood, it is now proposed that children shall be made to pass through the fire of his abominations.

But perhaps it is calculated that the explosive tendency of the feelings that are likely to be generated by the species of religious and political attrition which we have been describing, will be modified by a sort of moral safety lamp, that is to cut off all connexion with the igneous temperature of the atmosphere in which they exist—that, in short, the anti-social tendency of the distinction which the arrangement itself might produce, is sure to be corrected by the influence of the instruction dispensed.

This directs us to the examination of what is intended to make up the general and separate courses.

In the plan of the former, there is what would appear to be an intentional vagueness in the description of its matter. A Roman Catholic Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Book of Proverbs, and History of the Creation and Deluge, "*may*," in the opinion of the Commissioners, "be profitably used" in the course, but there is nothing like a *must* in the case, and as for the rest, we are referred to the length and breadth of the Kildare Street catalogue. As the use of the scriptural extracts in the practice of the general scheme is perfectly optional, and of course not intended to interfere with the principle of conciliation upon which the design is founded, it is not in the least likely that they will ever be read in class and if used in any form, it cannot be in a proportion corresponding to the idea we should frame of *religious instruction*. We may therefore at once divest the scheme of "general mutual instruction" of the religious component, and then its effects are reduced to the compound influence of "Voyages and Travels," "Remarkable Birds and Fishes," "Tim Higgins," and the "Entertaining Medley." All reference to the religion and morality of the plan must be reserved for the periods when the young militants are to take their several ways to the presence of his Reverence and father O'Shaughnessy, and there it is we must follow them in the examination of what is to constitute the divinity of the system.

There lies at the entrance upon this part of the subject, a question of what is meant by religious instruction, and although it may be desirable to have as little as possible to do with the theology of the question, the answer to the inquiry must have a governing influence upon the public judgment of the measure proposed. When it is said therefore that religious instruction, in the view of it which is now entertained, signifies the inculcation of Christian doctrine, we are aware of having advanced but a step in the definition; but as every reference to the

nature of the christian faith presupposes an understanding in common among such as profess to hold its principles, it is fair to assume the general recognition of essential data, to such an extent at least, as may save the necessity of doctrinal explication. It is a question, subject to fewer difficulties, to point out what is not religion in the shewing of every scripturally instructed denomination, than to define exactly what is religion in the general understanding of distinct and conflicting professions. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the *negative* view of the subject; and if it should be found necessary to enter upon general comparisons, they will take place upon ground which is common to every reader of the New Testament. It will not be supposed that in this instance, an undue importance is attached to the question of religious instruction, when it is recollected, that a reliance upon its efficacy in the projected design, is made the pretext for dispensing with the use of the Scriptures; and when it is further taken into the account, that if the separate course prescribed does not supply the means of such instruction, there is positively nothing religious in the system.

The Commissioners are not more definite in their reference to what is meant to constitute the religion of the scheme, than they are in describing the general course; and all that they have recommended, is the provision of the authorized version for the Protestant children, and the edition of the Douay Testament, with what are termed the short notes, for the Roman Catholics. No other book is alluded to as having to do with the Protestant course; and in regard to the Roman Catholics, it is liberally proposed, that their "*clergy should supply such other books for the purpose of religious instruction as they may desire.*" In as far as Protestant children are concerned, there is every reason to suppose, that the sacrifice of religion in the stated reading of the week would be compensated by the supplemental course; that is, where the clergy are really interested in the duty.

We object, at the same time, to any principle in education which should have a tendency to deprive the country of the full benefit of that zeal which the lay christianity of the land has embarked in the work. Roman Catholics are very differently circumstanced, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that their clergy, in the exercise of the privilege conferred by the Commissioners, will depart from the established practice of their church, and the course which is dictated by the whole constitution of their ecclesiastical polity. But it would argue a most unaccountable deviation from both one and the other, to assume, that their conduct of the proposed schools should present an exception. It may be of some consequence, therefore, to the part of the public which is ignorant of the popular standards of the Roman Catholic faith in Ireland, to have access to a few specimens of what the British government is called to sanction and promulgate as christian instruction. We shall refer briefly to the Testament which the Commissioners recommend, and afterwards adduce a few extracts from the *authorized* catechisms which are in general use in the schools. In the quotations from the latter, it is intended to abridge the references to three simple points :—first, *the definition* of the only true church ; second, *the authority* of the true church ; third, *the doctrine* of the true church. And let it be borne in mind, that the views presented, are those which *every Roman Catholic peasant in Ireland is taught to receive as the foundation of his religious creed under pain of mortal sin.* In the version of the New Testament, presented to the Commissioners, they inform us, that “ there are only sixty-three notes altogether, to the four Gospels, and those expressed in a manner which ought not, they think, to be offensive to any description of persons.” The Commissioners in this enumeration, seem to have calculated rather in haste, and probably with no disposition to magnify the commentary to which they refer us. Should they find leisure to return to the arithmetic of the criticism, they may come to discover, that there are *eighty-*

three notes to the Gospels, and although they happily feel themselves to be of the "description of persons," to whom the selection is acceptable, it may admit of a doubt whether the public in general will be of the same sentiment. Some of the notes are of a character to which no objection can fairly attach, but as there is no compact to which we feel less disposed to pledge ourselves "for better for worse," than a compact for divinity; we can never consent that the partial exhibition of truth should be considered an apology for dangerous error. A dispensary may contain the best medicine along with the deadliest poison, and if we did not on that account deprive the public of the benefit of access to its contents, we should at least require to be satisfied of the skill and fidelity of the officer who had the charge of it. There are few Protestants, it is to be presumed, would subscribe to the expediency of providing at the public expence, a commentary which perverts the language of the Redeemer to the support of every tenet of an abjured faith. But this is distinctly the case with the notes to the four Gospels. Then we should like to be informed of the reason which induced the Commissioners to break off in their examination at the conclusion of the notes on the Gospels. Whether this abridgement of theological research was intentional or not, is more than we can pretend to say, but it appears at all events to have been convenient for the purposes of the Report. The annotators it is true, are courteously moderate in their handling of the heretics, and sometimes they even effect to be jocular at our expence; but they take occasion to state in five different places that "Protestants have corrupted the text" and in more passages than one they are rated in good set terms. But perhaps the Commissioners can see nothing in the identity of a Protestant with a visitant from the bottomless pit, that ought to be offensive to that description of persons. If so they will not object to the rendering *a la Pastorini* of the apocalyptical locusts: "they are heretics," says the note—and let it be observed, that the terms heretics and

Protestants are synonymously used throughout the commentary—"who are ever ready to contend, they wear counterfeit gold on their heads, for all is but pretence and fiction; in shape, they are as men; in smoothness of speech as women; in fury and rage against all that oppose them, as lions; their breasts and hearts are as hard as iron; they are full of noise and shuffling, and the sting of their pestiferous doctrine is worse than that of scorpions." We observe also, that the Commissioners in their account of addenda to the book, have overlooked a very serviceable little four page "Table of Controversies," supplying doctrinal indices to a considerable part of the volume.

The most popular works of an elementary nature, and those which form the basis of juvenile instruction, are the catechisms of Bishops Butler and Reily, and a work entitled the "Christian Doctrine." Butler's catechism bears on its title-page the following notice: "The most Rev. Dr. James Butler's Catechism, revised enlarged, approved, and recommended by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland as a general catechism for the kingdom;" and contains under the head of the church, the following questions and answers.

"How do you call the true church? The holy Catholic Church. Is there any other true church besides the holy Catholic Church? No. Are all *obliged* to be of the true church? Yes; NO ONE CAN BE SAVED OUT OF IT. Who is the visible head of the church? The Pope who is Christ's vicar on earth. To whom does the Pope succeed as visible head of the church? To St. Peter. Who succeed to the other apostles? The bishops of the holy Catholic Church. *Can the Church err in what she teaches?* No."

So far the church, and the authority of the bishops; let us attend to what is said of her priests. "What means the power of forgiving sins? *That Christ left to the pastors of his church the power of forgiving sins.*"

The following contains a doctrinal specimen of the

work : " What do you mean by the penance enjoined by the confessor ? The prayers and other good works which he enjoins on penitents in satisfaction for their sins. Will the penance enjoined in confession, always satisfy for our sins ? *No ; but whatever else is wanting may be supplied by indulgences, and our own penitential endeavours.* When the church grants indulgences what does it offer to God to supply our weakness and insufficiency, and in satisfaction for our sins ? The merits of Christ which are infinite and superabundant *together with the virtues and good works of his virgin mother, and all his saints.*" So far the authority of Dr. James Butler and the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland. We avoid going into the idolatrous adoration of the virgin Mary, as "*the source of the fountain of grace ;*" "*the comfort of the afflicted,*" and "*refuge of sinners.*" The following are specimens of Primate Reily's views on the subject.

" What is the church ? It is the congregation of the faithful that profess the true faith, and are obedient to the pope. Which is the true church ? *The holy Roman Catholic church.* What are the spiritual blessings and advantages whereof the members of the church are partakers ? The sacraments, the holy sacrifice of the mass, the prayers of the church, and the good works of the just. Who are deprived of those spiritual benefits ? *Infidels, heretics, and excommunicated persons.*" This is pretty explicit ; but to the point of authority. " Are we obliged to keep the commandments of the church ? Yes, we are *commanded on pain of damnation to obey the church as our mother.* Can priests forgive sins ? *Yes, they can, for they have received that power from our Lord Jesus Christ.*"

Take the following as a sample of doctrine.

" How is satisfaction made to God ? *By fulfilling our penance for fasting, prayer, and alms deeds, and by bearing patiently whatever crosses come in our way.* Who will go to heaven ? Those who keep the commandments of God *and the church, and die in a state of grace,*" that is with a wafer in their mouth and a little oil on their forehead.

The copy of the christian doctrine before us is an abridgement of the general work under the following title. "A Christian Doctrine, wherein the principles of the Roman Catholic Religion are briefly explained; for the use of the Diocese of Limerick. An improved edition, sanctioned by the Right Reverend Dr. Tushy." It may be right to observe that Dr. T. is titular bishop of the diocess. In lesson 12 and 13 on the church, there are the following questions and answers. "What do you mean by these words in the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church?' I mean that I believe there is a church established by Christ on earth, to teach us and guide us to heaven, which is holy and Catholic. Who is the visible head of the church? The bishop of Rome. Has the church of Christ any particular marks by which it may be distinguished from other religious communions? Yes." (Here follow the marks.) "With what particular society of Christians do all these marks agree? *With no other but that which is in communion with the bishop of Rome.* How is that society called? The Roman Catholic Church. Who are out of that Church? INFIDELS, HERETICS, AND EXCOMMUNICATED PERSONS." In support of the point of authority we have the following. "What means the forgiveness of sins? It means that Christ left a power in his church to forgive sins, and the punishment due to them. Are the precepts of the church of strict obligation? *Yes, for they all oblige under pain of mortal sin.* What mischief does mortal sin to the person who commits it? *It deprives him of God's grace and friendship, and renders him liable to everlasting damnation.*" It afterwards follows, in the rules laid down for catechists, that they are to "instruct their pupils that whatever works are enjoined by the Confessor, are of the strictest obligation, though ever so disagreeable to them, and that they are as much bound to do them punctually *as they are to fulfil the ten commandments.*"

Under the head of theology we quote the following. "How is the penalty of sins remitted? *By means of satisfactory works.* What do you mean by doing an action

well? *I mean the doing of it so or in such a manner as God may have no cause to find fault with it.* Are good actions of any benefit to a christian besides making him virtuous? Yes, for moreover *every good action is meritorious, impetratory, and satisfactory.* What do you mean by a good action being meritorious? *I mean it deserves to be rewarded by God.* What do you mean by its being impetratory? *I mean that it claims and solicits God's grace, and a continuance and increase of it.* What do you mean by its being satisfactory? *I mean that it is capable of atoning for the punishment due to sin.* Can a good action be of any service to another besides the doer? Yes, in consequence of the communion of saints. How so? *By a good action one may impetrate and satisfy for another as well as himself."* These and similar lessons make up that system of popular theology, which the Commissioners have complimented with the designation of "*religious instruction,*" and in favour of which it is demanded that we should surrender the free, stated, and general perusal of that volume which "has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter." Where the eggs of the cockatrice are thus unsparingly deposited, can it be a cause of surprise that there should afterwards be the breaking forth of the viper.

To imagine that the Roman Catholic priesthood, or those acting under their direction, will make any reference to Scripture beyond the mere reference of form, would be to assume what is contradicted by experience, and not even insisted upon by the proposition of the Commissioners. It deserves in this instance to be remarked, that the suggestion of the Commissioners to Dr. Murray, that portions of the scriptures should be read in class during the general school hours, was promptly rejected, although coupled with a sort of wing, providing that "opportunities might be afforded to the teachers of each persuasion to explain to the children separately the portions so read." We are not surprised that the Dr. should have discovered serious difficulties in the way of such an arrangement;"

but it shews the danger which in the apprehension of perhaps the most tolerant and amiable member of the hierarchy is supposed to attach to the occasional reading of a few plain texts, and this too in a circumstance which should admit of the necessary explanation? No; in such a case as this there can be no admitted division of time between the danger and the remedy. The necessity for medical application to the wound of the serpent's bite is not more urgent than the supposed necessity for an antidote to every text of the book of God which is levelled in meaning to the capacity of Roman Catholic intellect.

The extent therefore to which the use of the scriptures will be carried in the separate religious instruction of Roman Catholics must be the result of a calculation of circumstances dependant upon the will, the policy, and the discretion of the conductors. First, there is an insuperable aversion to the use of the book in any form, at the same time that there is no positive stipulation that it shall be read. Secondly, if permitted to occupy even a subordinate place in the course of instruction prescribed, it must be such a place as is assigned to it by considerations of interest or form, and not a place suggested by an abstract perception of the utility of the practice. Thirdly, the use of scripture, if tolerated in any shape, will be restricted to a partial and innoxious selection of passages, and conducted upon such a principle as shall deny all reference to the general information of the volume. Fourthly, even the limited extent to which the practice may be carried is likely to be neutralized by the combined influence of the notes on the text and the instructions of the expositor. And fifthly, if there still remained a possibility, that a moral influence should carry through the restrictive and perverting effects of partial selection and heterodox commentary, *the opponent of the practice* is after all constituted the sole judge of the proportion of children in the school who shall be exposed to the danger of the impression. There is not in this case the shadow of a probability that the holy and sanctifying influence of divine truth would minister a counteraction to

the error with which it was mixed up. The vital principle could not be expected to ignite in the malaria of such a medium, and if ever it should prove of strength sufficient to shed a momentary radiance around it, the spark must quickly expire in the thick and fetid effluvia of such an atmosphere. But these observations are confined to the consideration of what the system of the Commissioners is in itself, rather than to the effects which it is calculated to produce in the application to practice, and it will be necessary to take a view of the consequences of its adoption, as they are likely to affect the general education of the country.

The Commissioners have stated in the conclusion of their Report, that "they cannot entertain the plan of destroying any existing class of schools which are useful to a considerable extent, though not so much so as they hope they may be rendered." This professed toleration of the existing schools comes rather late at the end of a survey in which they are condemned in the detail, and it certainly is not from the Report that we are disposed to look for an opinion of the effects which the new system is calculated to have upon their progress. It will be seen, however, that the notion of supporting a school under each of the systems in the same parish, is founded upon utter ignorance of the subject of Irish education. It forms part of the recommendation of the board, that "one school *at least*" upon the new principle, "shall be established in every benefice." and this, as far as we can learn from the Report, appears to be without any reference to the number or character of previously existing establishments. The point therefore to which we shall confine our remarks, is the certainty that the new schools *must* prove fatal to the established education of the locality; or, in other words, that they will prove destructive of every school in which the scriptures are taught throughout Ireland.

It must be notorious to every person conversant with the situation and feelings of the Irish peasantry, that a marked and palpable difference of object and motive exists between,

the poor man who places his child at a scriptural school, and the clergyman or the gentleman who may happen to patronize the school.

The advantages of instruction in demand with the peasantry are those which apply immediately to their condition in life, and it is unhappily true that moral or religious improvement forms no part of the estimate. It is *the education of letters and figures*, and not the education of *principle*, which constitutes the attraction of the present schools, and at the same time that there is a high value placed upon our learning, there is no value entertained for our religion. If there be an absence of prejudice upon the subject of the Bible, there is at least no particular desire for the information it contains, and should the system be divested of the book entirely, the circumstance would have no perceptible influence upon the bulk of the peasantry, so far as they can be said to have a choice upon the subject. They are very well satisfied to submit to its use as a condition which secures to their offspring the more intelligible advantages of general education, but they have no abstract perception of its value as a moral ingredient in the system.* The object of the patron and conductor of the school is essentially different. He has no objection to admit into his estimate all that the poor man acknowledges of secular advantage, but there is a recognition of higher obligations, and the great and primary objects of human existence are allowed to influence the consideration. Instruction in the principles of the christian religion must therefore find a place in the calculation, and the Bible as the only rationally unobjectionable vehicle, claims to be employed as the great agent in the practical developement of the scheme.

* We shall of course be understood as restricting these observations to the views of the peasantry in that unhappy state of moral inanition in which the subject of education is first presented to their thoughts, as the description will by no means apply to that numerous and daily increasing class among them, which has obtained some degree of information upon the nature and purport of the Scriptures, and is under the influence of deep anxiety to know more of the subject.

To this proposition the peasant has no objection to subscribe, and the work proceeds. In the mean time, the intervention of ecclesiastical remonstrance disturbs the harmony of the operation, and brings the poor man's concern about the welfare of his offspring to clash with his allegiance to his priest. This is the present state of almost every school in Ireland where the scriptures are taught, and what in such circumstances would be likely to succeed to the introduction of one of the character which the Commissioners recommend? Will it admit of a question whether or not the priest would prefer such a school? certainly not. But if it promises to afford the peasant all that he conceives of value in the present system, it is equally certain that he could have no objection to it. To assume in such circumstances that the new system would discharge scriptural education from every parish, where it was brought to conflict with the existing schools is assuming no more than must appear to be self evident. The priests, as a choice of evils, would naturally prefer the school from which the Bible was excluded, to the school in which it was taught, and although they do not possess the power of resisting the demand for education, it will not be denied that they possess the ability to decide the election of the people in such a case as has been described. It would be in opposition to the commonest maxims of experience, to suppose that a Roman Catholic peasant should prefer a description of school which offered no superior advantages in education while it practically exposed to all the perils of ecclesiastical anathema. One of two consequences must therefore succeed to the introduction of the proposed system. Either the schools in operation through the country would merge in the new establishment or their overflowing contents would subside down to a purely Protestant attendance. In the one case all that is comprehended under the distinction of scriptural education would disappear from the country. In the other a complete separation would take place between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and the evil against which

it is the professed design of the Commissioners to provide would be realized in the most exclusive possible shape. The respectable and numerous class of society who are at present engaged in the promotion of education, would generally refuse their co-operation, and the execution of the scheme would devolve upon priests and merely official agents. If the authority of an Act of Parliament was sufficient to compel the occasional attendance of the clergy, it could reach no further than the imposition of an irksome and disagreeable duty. Those who felt indifferent upon the subject would reduce the stipulated attendance to the observance of a mere form, and such as were actuated by principle would take but little pleasure in the prescribed exercise of an unprofitable duty. Thus the new provision instead of working towards the unreclaimed districts of the country in the form of a collateral operation would not break new ground before it had absorbed the old establishments.

But the part of the recommendation that we view with most of surprise and apprehension is that which proposes to introduce a new principle into the ecclesiastical economy of the state. By rendering the Roman Catholic clergyman officially responsible for the education of his communion, there is a line of demarkation run through the general population of the country which is to mark off in parochial detail the charge of the Protestant incumbent on the one hand, and the charge of the Roman Catholic priest upon the other. By this arrangement an official transfer of the Roman Catholic youth of the country is proposed to take place, by which they are in future to become dependent for instruction upon the very order of persons whose endeavours to keep them in a state of absolute ignorance have been exerted to the furthest stretch of human capability.

The first view which is suggested by this consignment of the Roman Catholic body to the charge of its own clergy, is the invigorated application of the powers of the system to the object of exclusive education. The conduct of purely Roman Catholic instruction at pre-

sent may be considered rather of a defensive than an aggressive character, varying as to extent and activity according to the influence of local causes, but more particularly the effect of scriptural education. By the proposed arrangement, an impetus will be given to the undertaking, and what was previously left to individual discretion will under the stimulant influence of a vote of Parliament, and an apparatus of parochial school houses, combine the full influence of priestly exertion with treasury support.

But it is not merely to the legislative sanction which it is proposed to give to the promulgation of the principles of the Roman Catholic faith that we object: the operation of the measure will reach to the obstruction of those particular channels which are employed in the conveyance of instruction from a purer source. The Bible will not only be kept at a distance from the touch of the Roman Catholic during the hours of general and united instruction, but an act of official separation must take place at the point where religion commences, which is to remove the greater part of the youth of the parish from the charge of the Protestant incumbent. A boundary line of pastoral responsibility is proposed to be laid down, which is to set fixed limits to the folds of the respective shepherds, and it would doubtless be considered a reprehensible transgression of this ecclesiastical land mark, if a Protestant clergyman should at any time attempt to interest himself about the instruction of a Roman Catholic parishioner. By this ominous interference the machinery of the establishment becomes paralyzed in that great and effectual movement which is making in favour of the rising generation. Not only are its clergy discharged from future responsibility in the case of the most necessitous part of their parishes, but every effort which the appeal of moral destitution on one hand, or the dictates of christian obligation upon the other might have a tendency to prompt in its favour, must appear as an act of officious intermeddling with other men's duties.

Whether therefore the Commissioners admit the conclusion or not, the adoption of their system would make an *official transfer* of the Roman Catholic body to the care of an ignorant and unspiritual Priesthood in all that refers to their instruction as christians. It is proposed, and proposed too for the first time since the Reformation, that the official jurisdiction of the Protestant clergyman shall be restricted to the Protestant proportion of his parishioners, and this at the moment when the zeal of the body is pledging itself to the moral revolution of the country. It was not even hinted that such a transfer was necessary during the course of that long and dreary interval when the Protestant incumbency remained indifferent to the obligation of the duty, but now that they are moving forth upon the ignorance around them in the aggressive power of a missionary spirit, and have to an inconceivable extent surmounted the most formidable difficulties in the way of the undertaking, it is proposed that the Roman Catholic part of their charges should be removed from the danger of the experiment by being made over to the persons who are at this moment exerting the powers of both worlds to keep them in ignorance.

The attempt which we are exposing is the first that has been publicly made to effect *a legislative and official disjunction of the Roman Catholic population from the Protestant hierarchy, in what relates to their instruction as christians and members of civil society.* It is nothing to the purpose whether this is to be done by a regulation that the clergyman of the Established Church shall not attempt the instruction of his Roman Catholic Parishioners, or a decree that the Roman Catholic Priest shall be laid under a necessity of doing it. The result in either view of the question is the same. The Protestant clergyman is restricted to the exercise of a Protestant ministration, and the teachers of a merely tolerated sect, are exalted by legislative enactment, to co-ordinate authority in principle, and as much above the level of co-ordinate importance in practice, as the people they govern are numerally su-

perior to the professors of the opposite faith. We do not pretend to say, that such a recognition of the claims and the competency of an ambitious and antichristian priesthood establishes officially and at once their exclusive title to the spiritual charge of the great bulk of the population. What we contend for is, the fact that *the principle has been conceded*. It is virtually acknowledged, that the Roman Catholic religion, as it is administered in Ireland, is fit enough for the population of Ireland in despite of evidence to the fact that it flings out of the pale of the divine mercy every rejecter of its dogmas, exalts the dicta of the church to the authority of the "ten commandments," attaches the pains of "damnation" to the non-fulfilment of ritual obligation, and pollutes the altar of God by the beggarly offering of human penance as a substitute for the vicarious atonement of a Redeemer's blood. But it is more than conceded, that such a religion is fit for the people of Ireland, *it is expressly provided that IT SHALL BE TAUGHT TO THE PEOPLE*; and the men who have darkened the sun of revelation by the smoke of unhallowed sacrifice, and conducted for ages the strange work of human immolation, under the shadow of the eclipse, are *officially deputed* to superintend the undertaking. We say, therefore, that a most important advance has been made in the theory that the Protestant Establishment is applicable only to the Protestant part of the population. But if ever the day should arrive, when it becomes an admitted doctrine, that the national church of Ireland is adapted only to the Protestant part of the population, then we concur with the demagogue and the infidel, and vote her an incumbrance to the state, and a burden to the people—a mere political vampire, fit only to advance the object of national security by the physical exhaustion of the body politic. Whenever that church is divested of her MISSIONARY CHARACTER, she is no longer entitled to the support either of the legislature or the public. It is upon the merit of *that character* viewed in connexion with a noble and daily increasing effort at the discharge of the obligation which it involves, that the

church of Ireland rests her claim to the dignity and the utility of a national establishment. On that foundation she is invincible, while the christianity she dispenses is acknowledged to be the christianity of the Bible, the Reformation, and the British constitution.

But we entertain an objection to the transfer which is proposed, founded upon the character, objects, and policy of the Roman Catholic priesthood considered as an ecclesiastical body. The Commissioners on this subject have been sparing of their remarks, and we hope that the reason grew out of a christian reluctance to expose the facts in their possession, rather than a design to conceal from the public the real character of the body. Conceiving, however, that the views and conduct of a class of men, to whom it is proposed to confide the temporal and eternal interests of the great bulk of the population, should be admitted as essential data in the calculation which is to determine their competency for the duty; we feel no qualms about looking the subject in the face, and if we fail in putting the public in possession of that information which it had a right to expect from the Commissioners Report, it shall not be owing to the want of intention.

We lay it down, in the first place, as a general position, that the Romish priesthood have constantly opposed education, under whatever form it has been offered to the people, without at the same time providing any substitute to a greater extent than was found necessary as a preventive in the design of opposition.

In the forms of return required to be answered on oath by the Established, Presbyterean, and Romish clergy for every parish in Ireland, there is the most important mass of information which has ever been brought within the reach of the British public on the same subject; and as the Commissioners have made no reference to its contents in their Report, we hope that some gentleman in his place in parliament, may move, that it shall be rendered accessible to public observation. In the queries which are contained in the general form, there is one which requires "the date when each school was first opened," and

another which demands the title of the “ societies or persons with which each school is in connexion, and *at what time and under what circumstances such connexion was formed.*” There is one also, which requires “ the nature and extent of superintendence exercised over the school by the Protestant minister or curate, or Roman Catholic priest or coadjutor;” and a subsequent one which requires “ the time at which the school was taken under such superintendence.” It would be highly unfair to impeach any body of men upon merely conjectural testimony, but we should be curious to make the following comparisons.

1st. The number of schools under the Roman Catholic clergy, and the date of their *original establishment*, compared with the date at which they came under the direction of *their present patrons*.

2ndly. The date of schools actually established by the Roman Catholic clergy, or brought for the first time under their superintendence, compared with the establishment of the scriptural schools in the same parish, or the appointment of the Commission of inquiry.

3rdly. The comparison of the Protestant and Roman Catholic answers *on these points*. If observation and experience are to be depended upon as the best practical directory, we should expect from these comparisons the following results.

1st. That the schools superintended by Roman Catholic clergymen differed most essentially in the Roman Catholic and Protestant returns, and that they formed, according to the largest estimate of their number, but a very fractional part of the general aggregate.

2ndly. That the schools in connexion with Roman Catholic clergymen *were seldom established by them but generally adopted from the common hedge schools of the country*.

3rdly. That *the dates of their establishment or affiliation corresponded either with the introduction of scriptural schools into the neighbourhood, or the appointment of the Commission of inquiry*.

The queries suggest other particulars of great practical value bearing upon the same point, and we are entirely mistaken in our opinion if the information deducible from this invaluable registry would not expose a system of moral and practical delinquency of which there are few could have any adequate conception.

There is a melancholy consistency in the view which experience presents us with upon this subject. Were it possible to collect the unanimous testimony of those who are in any way connected with the education of the country, as to the manner in which the opposition of the Romish clergy has been exerted in the detail, there would be found but little variety in the statement. We should be told that the first effort consisted in direct and unconditional resistance protracted to the point of success or failure, and that the second attempt produced the establishment of a school in opposition. Let the inquiry be extended to the manner in which such schools are conducted, and we should generally learn that no pains are used to advance the children even in what it is professed to teach them, and that the object contemplated was manifestly a wish to interfere with their attendance where the scriptures are taught. If we proceeded a stage further in the investigation we should discover, that even these schools are generally suffered to decline in cases where they have effected the object of putting down antagonist seminaries.

The experience which has been described, is so consistently the experience of Ireland, that it must address itself to the consciousness of as many as pretend to a knowledge of the mode in which education is conducted in that country. It may be well, however, to afford the subject the support of positive testimony.

About two years previous to the appointment of the Commission, we had obtained answers to a very comprehensive form of queries on the subject of education, from a number of clergymen of the Established Church, particularly in two of the western dioceses where the respectable prelates took an interest in the object, and

in thirty of these returns now before us, there is an affecting corroboration of the position laid down. They contain particulars of not fewer than 240 schools, and the answers to the several queries, bearing upon the subject of opposition and the mode of its exertion, are such as would almost lead to the belief, that the results had arisen out of the experience of the same parish. The uncompromising resistance of the Romish clergy—the circumstances in which the few schools under them originated—and the decided preference of Roman Catholic parents for Protestant instruction, present a uniformity that would strike a person ignorant of facts as being the result of a collusive attempt to reflect upon the character of the priestly profession. The testimony of these returns is so decisive and convincing, that if no other evidence existed to prove the immitigable hostility of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to scriptural education, it would be abundantly sufficient for the purpose. And these are the men to whom it is gravely proposed by the Commissioners, that we should commit the moral and religious formation of the Roman Catholic mind of Ireland! But it would be impossible to do justice to the view of what we conceive to be the moral incompetency of the Romish priesthood for the duty recommended without presenting their hostility to the scriptures in the light of a more general experience.

The first illustration which we shall select, is that which is afforded by the gross ignorance of the peasantry upon the subject. It is a remarkable, and at the same time an appalling fact, that there is scarcely a witness examined by the Commissioners who has not given testimony to a general want of information about *the very existence of the book*. The following is from Mr. Donelan's evidence:—
 “Do you find throughout the country a prevailing ignorance of *both* versions of the Scriptures? Yes, the most lamentable ignorance in our Kildare Street schools. Do the children not know that the Testament is the word of God? No; *they could not tell that, even when I put the answer into their mouths; and if the children of our schools are so ignorant with such advantages, I conclude*

their parents must be more so. Do you think the peasantry could in most instances distinguish between a Testament and any other book of the same size upon a religious subject put into their hands? *Upon my word, I think they could scarcely do it, except where the exertions of the Bible Society have succeeded;* BUT IN MANY PARTS OF CONNAUGHT, THE PEASANT DOES NOT KNOW WHAT A BIBLE OR TESTAMENT IS." We have not selected these quotations on the ground, that they are more conclusive than any thing which is to be found in the information of other witnesses, but simply for the reason, that an importance may attach to Roman Catholic testimony in the estimation of some readers, which would be wanting in *Protestant* evidence upon the same subject.

Experience has thus registered against a professedly christian priesthood, the almost inconceivable fact that the Scriptures are unknown even by name to a great part of the body which they profess to instruct in a knowledge of their contents. But we are prepared to carry this accusation, beyond the criminality of simple neglect. It is not merely true that the people are left by whole provinces with scarcely any knowledge of the greatest boon that Heaven has conferred upon man; it is moreover true, that there exists a banded conspiracy against the book. From the mitred blasphemer, who publicly lauded the bigotry which thrust it under the earth with a tongs, down to the meanest driveller who mutters the mysteries of the craft, there is but one feeling and one sentiment upon the subject. The malady of spiritual hydrophobia has seized upon the order, and the very appearance of the "water of life" is intolerable to their diseased and revolting senses. Are we to be told, that these are the sweeping asseverations of a libellous intolerance? We appeal to the facts of the case.

It is a truth as notorious as the existence of Ireland itself, that there is scarcely a parish on its surface, *where the use of the Bible has not been opposed in some shape, while the history of profligate and treasonable adventure has been tolerated in every shape.* The book of God's revelation has been withheld and de-

nounced, and the resistance to its introduction, backed by the authority of the altar, and not unfrequently executed with the lash of the horsewhip, while free course has been given to the polluted issues of human depravity, and the very worst species of seditious example. We give the following as a mere specimen of the school books which were returned to the Commissioners, and would refer to the entire list in the Appendix for fuller information. There are "The seven wise masters and mistresses of Rome;" "The Irish Rogues and Raparees;" "The History of Capt. Freny;" "Redmond O'Hanlon, the Robber;" "Capt. Grant, a gentleman Highwayman;" "The Garden of Love;" "The Feast of Love;" "The Effects of Love;" "The School of Delights;" "Nocturnal Revels;" "Life of Lady Lucy;" "Moll Flanders;" "Fanny Meadows;" "Donna Rosina;" "The pleasant Art of Money Catching;" "Devil and Dr. Faustus;" "Feats of Astrologers!" "Pastorini's Prophecies;" "Philander Flashaway;" "Renard, the Fox;" "Catechism of the Irish History." These furnish a few samples of the stimuli which are permitted to be applied to the intellect and the passions of as many as are capable of deriving information through the medium of the press, while the Bible is pursued from house to house, and from hand to hand with almost instinctive hostility.

But it has not only been proclaimed from high places that it is meritorious to bury in the earth the only relict of heaven which is to be found upon its surface; the hostility has run in descending vibration to the lowest functionary of the order. We care not what the rulers of a jesuitical combination may profess at the bar of Parliament when they attempt to throw the gauzy veil of a hypocritical liberality over the practical aspect of a religion whose undisguised expression would excite the honest indignation of every christian in the land. They may present the bright side of the pillar of orthodoxy to the eye of external observation, but it is darkness and confusion to the misguided multitude who are groping their way to eternity under the horrors of its shadow, and the pretext is too shallow to deceive any

who are not either politically or morally the abettors of the fraud. We return to the working of the system. We place ourselves by the side of the parish altar and the confessional; we take our stand at the village station,* and mingle in the domestic circles of a discontented people, and there we listen to the declaration of unaltered purpose, and the perseverance of unrelaxed endeavour.

An attempt has been made to expose the character of the instruction recommended, the principles and the policy of the administrators, and some of what are likely to be the consequences of its adoption. We shall take our leave of the subject by an examination of the two principal grounds on which the necessity for the measure was argued by the Chairman and organ of the board, in a speech of considerable length delivered before the House of Commons. As we cannot without sinning against the usages of Parliament, assume that the statement in question was auricular, we must have recourse to what the honourable Chairman is reported to have said upon the subject, and the argument as far as we can understand it, seems to be built upon two consequences of the present system of education, which are supposed to render the adoption of the Report necessary. The one is the extent of exclusive education going forward under the direction of the Roman Catholic clergy and the various confraternities of that faith, and the other is the effect which a habit of clandestine attendance is alleged to have upon Roman Catholic children frequenting the opposed schools.

In regard to the first we really do consider that any argument in favour of the Report which pleads the existence of exclusive education as a reason, comes with rather a bad grace from the organ of a board which has recommended a system the most exclusive beyond all comparison that has ever been presented to the consideration of the country. If the honourable member meant by exclusive education a course of instruction which restricts the attention of Roman Catholic children to the doctrines of their

* A station is an assembly of the peasantry met at a particular house for confession.

own church, it is precisely the education which the Commission has recommended. Who for example will imagine that the education received in one of the present Roman Catholic chapel schools, or administered by the "confraternity of the Christian Brotherhood," is a whit more exclusive than what would be inculcated by a priest or his lay representative in a school under the new regulations, where they were allowed to possess the choice of books and free discretion in the use of them? If upon the other hand it was meant to apply the term exclusive in the physical sense, we confess that we had much rather see Roman Catholics and Protestants, educated apart from each other where the separation was accidental or effected by the influence of mere coercion against the wishes and dispositions of the children themselves, than see them brought together under circumstances which should prove that they held nothing in common as christians. We can never assent to the notion that Roman Catholics are in the way of becoming more insulated and sectarian in feeling by the act of a constrained separation from Protestants than they would be if paraded up to the contact under the drill and command of their own priest and his lay coadjutor. It is more desirable in every sense that they should assemble around their own teachers in a separate apartment, than that they should assemble around them in the same apartment, and it requires but little acquaintance with the philosophy of human nature to foresee that there would be much less of an *Esprit du corps* produced by the training which separates the parties altogether, than that which cherishes an emulative excitement, and operates by the mutual stimulus of divided authority in the school. We would suggest it as a question which it might be worth the while of the honourable Chairman to ascertain whether there exists most of Orange extravagance and Ribbon machination, in those particular sections of the country where the population are of an exclusively Protestant or Roman Catholic description, or those districts where they are visibly poised in the alternating scales of a doubtful ascendancy.

The recommendation of the board therefore, so far from having a tendency to contract the limits of exclusive education, would have the effect of extensively widening its operation. It would employ the influence of Parliament and a public fund to render the religious instruction of the country exclusive, and the arrangement for educating Protestants and Roman Catholics together under the circumstances proposed would tend directly to aggravate all those feelings which it is the object of present endeavour to blend and to extinguish. The only difference between the exclusive education proposed by the Commissioners, and that particular species of it to which the chairman has adverted, is simply the difference between a general and a partial evil. Scriptural instruction as at present administered, is pressing against the limits and resources of the antagonist system, and doing much to impregnate where it can do nothing to subvert it ; but the adoption of the Commissioners' proposition would have the effect of repressing scriptural instruction.

We have argued the position on the ground that the remedy proposed is no better than the evil which it professes to cure, but other views of the subject suggest themselves ; and it ought to be remarked that the exclusive education with which the Chairman of the Commission appears to be so dissatisfied, is neither of the importance or the magnitude which have been represented. As this is fortunately a question of figures, it will only be necessary to state, that of the aggregate of 500,000 children returned in the Report, there are but 191,130 to be apportioned among hedge schools, priests' schools, pay schools of a superior description in towns, schools on public and private foundations, and schools exclusively under the direction of private individuals.* The exclusive instruction then which has been

* Seven splendid erections, containing as many hundred scholars, have already been finished upon the property of Lord Farnham, and his Lordship, with a munificence which is alike honourable to his christianity and his station, is proceeding to increase the number. These schools are entirely supported at the founder's expense.

alluded to, if it is to be found any where must lie within the compass of the schools under priests and lay confraternities, and these when combined make up but an insignificant part of the number described.

Mr. Donelan has stated in his evidence, that he conceives there are one or two hedge schools to every parish in Ireland, and perhaps the estimate taken in the largest sense, is under the actual number. Adopting however the minimum of the calculation, there must be 2,400 hedge schools, and if we allow fifty attendants—a very low average—to each school, there are 120,000 scholars to be subtracted from the general number. With these schools it is to be observed the priests have no concern whatever, and they are perfectly distinct from the class which is referred to by the Commissioners, as there is for the most part an exclusion of religion in every shape. If we afterwards combine the schools upon public and private foundations, as those under Erasmus Smiths, and Col. Robertson's charities, and the public institutions in towns, such as the Foundling Hospital and Marine School, with seminaries under Protestant individuals, there is a further subtraction of at least one half the remaining number. This would reduce it to 35,565 scholars, to be shared between the priests and confraternities as the only part of the education of the country in which exclusive religious instruction can be going forward. And in order to repress these establishments, it is demanded that we should rend to the earth the whole fabric of scriptural education, and transfer the contents of upwards of two thousand schools to a system which is not less exclusive than that which it is sought to abolish. Then after we had consented to the desperate resolution of uprooting a harvest of wheat for an handful of tares, it is most consistently required that we should surrender the field to the growth of the noxious production.

But perhaps it may be maintained that the objectionable instruction is distinct from the weekly practice, and principally restricted to the chapels on Sunday. To

this we subscribe so far at least as to admit that there is a very considerable number of Roman Catholic children instructed in the catechetical forms of their faith in chapel schools, but we deny the Commissioners the benefit of the concession on two grounds. First, it must be proved that either the arrangement which they propose, or any other which is occupied about day instruction, would affect the plan of Sunday education, which is carried on in the Roman Catholic chapels. We believe that it would not, and simply for the reason that the elementary grounding in the faith of the Romish religion which is contemplated by chapel schools, is carried forward by a machinery of catechists and confraternity men who release the priests from any share of personal responsibility, as it respects the labour of the undertaking. The instruction of the chapel would be carried outwards to a full development of its objects and principles, in the schools under the new regulations, but the nucleus would remain as the animating soul of the system. Supposing however, that the chapel pupils should be taken up by the attendance upon the proposed schools, what have we gained by the result? What in other words constitutes the difference between the religious instruction which a priest or his representative would administer from the altar of a chapel on Sunday, and the desk of a school room on Monday, being equally a free agent in both instances?

The other reason brought forward by the Chairman of the Commission, referred to the hide and seek description of practice which he supposes to be going on between the children in attendance upon the scriptural schools and their ghostly directors. After distinguishing between the education of letters and the education of habit, the honourable member is reported to have stated, that "the education of habit in this instance, is one of falsehood and hypocrisy, falsehood on the part of the parents, and hypocrisy toward their priests."

If this sentiment be accurately reported, it amounts to one of the most unequivocal subscriptions to the doctrine

that "whatever is is right," which we have heard associated with the christian profession. It comes then to this that we are to desist from the prosecution of an honest avowed and successful endeavour to promulgate a knowledge of the christian revelation among an ignorant and debased people, because in creeping out of their moral incarceration to accept the benefit they must manœuvre so as to conceal their approach from the advance posts of a watchful and relentless despotism. What is this but to insist that we should abandon all reference to the obligation of duty abstractedly considered, until we have first consulted the interests and the feelings of the parties with whose unhallowed monopoly the discharge of it may threaten to interfere? If upon this principle we should frame to ourselves the purpose of distributing a few copies of the Scriptures in a parish of Connaught or Munster where the volume was never heard of, we ought first to ascertain that the use of the book would not produce relaxation in the prescribed attendance upon the sound of altar bells and bog Latin, while the individual at the same time was outwardly identified with the mysteries of the ceremony. Upon the same principle if a landlord or clergyman endowed with the sympathies of christian benevolence should entertain the purpose of diffusing moral and religious instruction through the youth of an estate or a parish, he should begin according to the ethics of our new school, by due pains to inform himself that the denunciations of the chapel altar are likely to be complied with, and that no children shall, in violation of the prohibition, attempt to present themselves at the school, particularly that they shall not presume to *steal* a march upon their spiritual inquisitors.

But more is required to be said upon this question than what refers to the obligation of duty in the abstract, and it must be denied, for the parties involved in the charge, whether parents or children, that their conduct is such as to justify the censure under which they have fallen. It is readily admitted that Roman Catholic parents not only send their children to school, unknown to their clergymen,

but that they moreover continue them at school, after the practice has been denounced. But does it follow that concealment in such a case must necessarily partake of falsehood and hypocrisy? The parents in this particular are merely following out a well defined conviction of duty to its practical result. Enslaved as their condition is, there are feelings which nature has implanted, and obligations that interest will dictate, which are of strength sufficient to enter into competition even with the arbitrary mandate of ecclesiastical authority, and in this exercise of evasive ingenuity which looks so clandestine in the eyes of the Commissioners, the poor people are acting from a simple consciousness of what is due to their offspring. It is no more a question with the Irish peasant that the priest is wrong in passing a sentence of ignorance upon his child than if the same priest were to enjoin that it should wear no clothing, or decree from the altar that it should not be permitted to eat potatoes. Why then, it may be asked, do they not boldly speak out the conviction which they feel, and unmask their purpose of resistance to the injustice of the decree? Why, we reply, did a ruler of Israel select the darkness of midnight, as the covering of his approach to the ministrations of a delegate from heaven? He had not, we presume, the sanction of the sanhedrim to his visit, and yet it may be asserted with tolerable confidence, that he was no hypocrite.

It requires but a superficial acquaintance with human experience, to guide us to the conclusion that it is possible to have perfect confidence in the wisdom or the consistency of a particular tribunal, in respect to its general authority, and no confidence whatever in the same tribunal with respect to particular acts of the same authority. The progress of every moral revolution of the human mind is distinguished by a conflict between the restraining influence of admitted principles, and the restless conviction of detected error, and to expect that the first act which conveyed to the mind of a Roman Catholic peasant, a doubt of the infallibility of his priest should incline him to im-

pugn the general authority of that priest, would be to expect from one in the most abject state of intellectual degradation, more than was realized in the great Father of the Reformation. So long as he is influenced by the conviction that he is a member of the one and only true church, and that this church is the sole depositary of Heaven's mercy, so long will he continue to tread with a trembling caution upon the verge of disobedience to her injunctions, and his conduct in such a case will be precisely what we find it—a slavish deference to the general authority of the priest on the one hand, with a manœuvring concealment of justifiable disobedience upon the other.

Scriptural education originated the first doubts which broke in upon that unquestioning succumbency of mind to which the peasantry of Ireland had resigned themselves, and what the chairman of the Commission would seem to deprecate is the very circumstance which we hail as the precursor of full and final deliverance. We cannot consent that any impression of principle or any conviction of duty should be effaced from the mind of the Roman Catholic peasant, whatever may be the consequences at issue. If the practical expression of the feeling should be distorted by the influence of fear or of interest, we cannot make common cause with the abettors of a slavish superstition, by assaulting the impression where we ought to charge the inconsistency or the obliquity of the performance upon the oppressive and degrading nature of the system itself. This would be to way-lay and to drive in the very forlorn hope of civil and religious liberty, and to blast in the bud the earliest dawning of a nation's spiritual hope.

What has been stated, is all that seems necessary to explain the fact, that while the poor man may evince a blindness of obedience to his priest in the general, he may at the same time be standing out in opposition to the same priest upon a well founded conviction of ascertained and urgent duty, and the Irish peasantry are not more implicated in the charge of hypocrisy on the evidence of such

inconsistency, than our ancestors were implicated in the same sin, when under the reign of a Mary and a Bonner, the exercise of their religion was confined to the secret whispering of midnight association.

No attempt seems to have been made by the honourable chairman to meet the formidable objections which are alleged against the principle of the Report, and as the arguments in favour of its adoption were confined to what have been stated, we do not think it necessary to travel out of our way in search of others.

With respect to the opposition which the Report has met with from the Roman Catholic body, it is for the most part of an unofficial character. The species of coarse and sweeping denunciation which vents itself in the orations of the Corn Exchange, Dublin, is no real criterion of the drift of official feeling; but as there is a shew of objection in quarters where the authority of the body is supposed to reside it may be well to take some notice of the circumstance. We should at the same time premise such remarks by stating that we are no further concerned with what may be said upon that side of the question than as it may be likely to affect the public judgment of the measure.

If the opposition which is offered by Roman Catholics, who have authority to speak the sentiments of the governing powers, is really meant to express a dissent from the plan of the Report, it proves an abandonment of a compact, which bears the signatures of the heads of the hierarchy; but if there be nothing authoritative in the objections, they amount to mere jesuitical finesse. It will be seen in the Report, that the four Archbishops have pledged themselves to the plan which the Commissioners recommend; and it is manifest also, that this pledge was obtained at the expense of no less important a sacrifice, than the use of the Bible in the general course of instruction. It can scarcely, therefore, be supposed, that the opposition is meant to be carried to the extent of an official protest; not that the Romish hierarchy can be considered as assentient to the system in the abstract, but because the scheme of

the Report is infinitely preferable to any condition which they have to expect from the conductors of a system, which experience has taught them it is useless to contend with. In the endeavour to arrive at a practical conclusion upon questions where public opinion is divided, there is nothing so common as the remark, that "truth lies between extremes;" and the middle line of judgment is not unfrequently adopted in preference to a conclusion which is the result of a laborious induction of circumstances.

This discovery of common experience is not lost upon the casuists of the church of Rome, and none are better acquainted with the policy of *creating an extreme*, when it is desirable to fix a medium on the favourable side of the point which public opinion would be likely to determine. The delusion of presenting an artificial, in the room of the natural horizon, when aided by the refractive power of the media through which objects are viewed in the Roman firmament, is admirably calculated to conceal the true position of the bodies, and to play off the trick of optical deception, where it is intended to present false or bewildering data for an official calculation. In the present instance, the design, to a certain extent, seems to have succeeded. It has been conceived by many, that the plan recommended in the Report carries with it a *prima faciâ* evidence of merit in the circumstance of having given dissatisfaction to two morally conflicting bodies.

The last proposition contained in the Report, is the appointment of a board of Commissioners as the form of directive agency, to which it is recommended to intrust the application of the principles laid down. Having proved that the principles themselves are opposed to experience, subversive of the existing institutions of the country, and fatal to the best interests of its inhabitants, there will be no necessity to dwell upon the constitution of the superintending agency. It is a question of very subordinate importance, what may happen to be the character of the supervision recommended; or the masters and superintendants who are to

constitute the mechanism of the system, if it can only be shown that the moral principle is bad at the radix. It may however be affirmed with confidence, that the mere machinery of the scheme is of such clumsy construction, as would be sufficient of itself to baffle the purpose of the projectors. The materials which enter into the very framework of the design are heterogeneous throughout. There is no affinity of temper in the structure, and the heated state of the moral atmosphere in which it is proposed to place the unwieldy apparatus would produce such a counter-expansion of the parts, as must, in the nature of things, destroy all regularity of movement, and paralyze the effort in its very birth.

In disposing of the plan of education recommended by the Commissioners, it may not be amiss to bestow a few thoughts upon the general question of government interference in the subject. If we assume that the co-operation of government is rendered necessary by the existing circumstances of Ireland, there are two questions which demand attention. The first is the question, whether Roman Catholics and Protestants, in a spirit of mutual concession, are likely to be brought to agree to such a definition of religious instruction, as should, upon the admission of each party, present an epitome of the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. Should this be found impracticable, it remains to be considered, whether the government, in arbitrating between the interfering claims of religiously conflicting bodies, are under an equal obligation to the pretensions of each.

The answer to the first of these questions has been determined by experience. Roman Catholics and Protestants can never agree to a plan of mutual religious instruction, without a compromise of essential credenda on both sides. They disagree in the definition of what constitutes religious instruction, and they differ no less in the mode by which it is to be communicated. The Bible alone contains the religion of Protestants, but more than the Bible is required

to make up the religion of Roman Catholics. It is not less true *as a principle*, that the Bible alone teaches the religion of Protestants; but it is not permitted that the Bible, in any form, should teach the religion of Roman Catholics. The most therefore to which it can be expected that a Roman Catholic clergyman will submit in principle, is the bare toleration of a partial selection of scripture; and this, supposing such a selection to be practicable, narrows the ground on which the Roman Catholic and Protestant can meet, to a mutilated and unexplained exhibition of divine truth, a proposition which ought at once to excite the resistance of the government and the public. It cannot for an instant be admitted, that the occasional reading of a few lessons out of a selection which has first been divested of all that is conceived to bear unfavourably upon the errors of the Romish ritual, is religious instruction in the full and practical sense of the expression, and consequently, it is impossible that Roman Catholics and Protestants can hold footing on any ground of mutual education in the principles of the Christian religion.

With respect to the second question, there is a clear ground of objection to the principle, that government is under an equal obligation to the claims of the opposite parties, and in stating this ground, it is not in the least necessary that we should encumber the argument with theological disquisition. What places a sufficiently marked distinction between the claims of the candidate parties in this instance is the simple fact, that the one rests upon the ground of exclusive instruction; and the other, compromising all reference to ritual distinction of creed, proposes merely the adoption of what is professed to constitute the foundation of every creed. There is all the difference, in point of reason, between the claims of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant in this case, that there is between the New Testament and Dr. Butler's catechism; and if it be required, that government should admit an equality of claim, it is required at

the same time, that they should substitute the test of number for that of orthodoxy and depart both from the reason and the equity of the question. They must in the first place, forsake the broad and general foundation of the christian faith to decide in favour of some particular modification of that faith, and afterwards in descending to weigh the claims of one sect against another, they must if consistent with their own rule decide against the sect whose faith constitutes the pillars of the British throne, and the best bulwark of her constitutional privileges. The surrender of the Scriptures is as directly a compromise of the Protestant creed, as the giving up of the council of Trent would be a compromise of the Roman Catholic creed. It is the boasted peculiarity of the reformed faith, that it cannot be comprised in any creed. It refuses to abridge itself within narrower limits than the limits of revelation itself; and the sacred volume containing it, has become, by a sort of prescriptive usage, the pillar and ground of Protestant education.* It affords us pleasure as often as we see a faithful pastor engaged in supplementing the lessons of the New Testament by instruction in the forms of a sound faith; but the stated practice of the school should be conducted upon such a principle as ought, in all cases, to secure an acquaintance with the latter, *at least* of the christian record.

Any plan therefore, which assumes the concurrence of Protestants and Roman Catholics in religious instruction, implies the mutilation of the test of Scripture; but it does not stop here. It proceeds with frightful temerity, to pass censure upon the wisdom by which

* The following very remarkable testimony upon this subject was given a few years ago by the Duke de Cazes, the French ambassador at the British court. "His Grace the Duke de Rochefoucault has requested me to bring him copies of the books published for the use of the poor of England. I have made diligent inquiries on the subject, and shall conclude them *by presenting him with THE BIBLE*, which supplies all the moral wants of a country of whose national religion it forms the basis, and of whose political institutions it is the safeguard and the surest guarantee."

the plan of the record of mercy was framed and filled up. It claims to remove from juvenile observation, and to thrust into concealment a part of what Almighty Wisdom has intended should be as open to the eyes of every creature as the aspect of that heaven which cheers our earth with the glow of its sun, and elevates our conceptions by the myriads of its stars. But by whom is the sacrifice insisted upon? By the abettors of the deadliest scourge which ever deformed the moral creation of God, and solely for the means of time and opportunity to proceed with the frightful tragedy in which they are engaged. This is not a case where the influence of a puling liberality is brought to act repressively upon christian zeal, when going forth to expose the errors and corruptions of a baleful superstition; it is an attempt to seal up the testimony of Heaven itself, and to forbid that book which is charged with the message of a divine condemnation, to prophesy in the ears of those to whom the message is addressed. The best that can be said of such a policy is, that it is very near akin to what Lord Bacon has described, as bearing a much braver aspect towards the Creator than the creature.*

But as the wise man has observed, "the legs of the lame are not equal." It is first demanded we should consent to the disintegration of Scripture, and it is afterwards admitted that the use of the selection shall be optional, while it is confessed, that under any circumstances it cannot be considered religious instruction. In what then consists the utility of the selection, unless it be intended to infuse into the carcase of a dead and lifeless system a kind of conservative fragrance which may render it less offensive to the moral sense of a christian public. The experiment is useless. The vacancy of death sets upon its mummy-like countenance, and the ill-disguised imposture is fit only for the school of dissection, as a subject calculated to develop the unsightly anoma-

* No. 4 in the Appendix contains a noble testimony on this subject by the Archbishop of Tuam in his answers to the queries of the Commissioners

lies of hermaphrodite anatomy. We return, therefore, to the point from whence we set out—that a neutral ground of religious instruction between Protestants and Roman Catholics is a terra incognita of which we have yet had no distinct information. If therefore *religious instruction in common*, be considered a sine qua non of government assistance, there is no ground on which such assistance can be afforded. If upon the other hand, it has been proved, by the authority of standard testimony, that the religious instruction dispensed by the Roman Catholic clergy, *is not christian instruction*, and that it is politically as well as socially at war with all the charities of civilized life; it can never in a separate form of administration, become entitled to public support.

It has also been established, that the claims of Protestants and Roman Catholics cannot in any view of the question be considered of equal obligation, without losing sight of the reason as well as the justice of the case. The one is general, the other is exclusive—the one is scriptural, the other is sectarian—the one proposes to sacrifice every reference to ritual peculiarity in the school, the other demands that the tenets of a particular creed should constitute the chief and leading object of the instruction dispensed.

Having thus traced out a clear and obvious distinction, between the merits of the opposite claims, we were prepared to suggest a mode by which the application of Government bounty might be rendered available to the promotion of all those objects which are contemplated by the legislature without at the same time interfering with the existing institutions; but on further consideration we have deferred its publication.

It is obvious, in the mean time, that the labours of the Commission have not been useless. An important advantage has been secured to the public by the accumulation of valuable data, and that characteristic variety of sentiment which is presented in the evidence of the numerous witnesses examined on the subject.

If they have failed in the erection of a temple where

the offspring of a morally discordant generation may receive their initiatory lessons in the great doctrine of "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism;" they have at least collected a varied and useful material for more experienced architects, and the very circumstance of failure itself, is a step towards ultimate success in the undertaking.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

*To the Right Reverend Cornelius Egan, Roman Catholic
Bishop of Kerry, &c. &c.*

May it please your Reverence,

We, the undersigned, being Members of the Roman Catholic Church in your Bishopric, beg leave to approach you with all the respect and deference due to our spiritual Father, and to implore your pastoral indulgence on a subject of much anxiety to us, and of great importance to the bodies and souls of our dear children.

In almost every parish of this County, Free Schools have been established by our charitable gentry, with the assistance of the generous English, in which all who choose to attend are taught how to earn their own bread with honesty, and to live in quietness and kindness with their neighbours; and every sort of books necessary for this purpose are supplied without the least cost. As many of our clergy for a long time supported and recommended these schools; as we know the masters are good scholars, and men who have obtained certificates of character from their priests; and as we see that the pupils of these schools get on rapidly in knowledge and good behaviour, we are desirous that our beloved children should have the benefits which are enjoyed by our neighbours.

For some time past, however, the Clergy have required us to take our little ones away from these schools, telling us that there is danger of losing our religion by sending them, or that though they can see no harm whatever in our doing so, yet they must obey the orders of their Bishop in forbidding us. Some of us being unwilling to deprive our children of such great blessings, have been denied the rites of that Holy Church in which it is our wish to live and die; some have had their names called Sunday after Sunday from the sacred altar, and thus been exposed to the scorn and persecution of our neighbours; whilst our little ones have often been the objects of insult and abuse—and all this because we wish our dear children to become sensible, industrious, and honest Catholics.

Most Reverend Sir,—We do not presume to dictate to our Clergy, but we think it very strange that they should now call that bad which they once called good ; we do not know how the sending our children to these schools, in which God's Word is taught, can injure their religion, if our church is built upon a rock against which " the gates of hell shall not prevail ;" especially whilst they have the use of the Roman Catholic version of Scripture, and their Masters are willing to instruct them in the catechism when school has closed. Nay, many of our children who attend the Scripture Schools are most perfect in the catechism of our Holy Church.

We approach your paternal feet, holy Father, humbly imploring that you will instruct the Clergy to relax that hostility which many of them direct against the Scripture Schools, and to suspend those denunciations and penalties which are dealt to us, merely because we love our children and wish to see them honest men, loyal subjects, good Christians, and faithful Catholics. In short, PERMIT US TO KNOW SOMETHING OF THE WORD OF GOD, so much spoken of in these days.

Do not suffer us to be branded as heretics, or rotten Catholics, and to have our hearts wounded and our livelihood taken away without deserving it ; and at last be driven from the Church in which we were reared, to one which our Bishop DOYLE says is not very different, but which does not interfere with the natural rights of parents to educate the children which Almighty God has given them. Some of our neighbours *have gone over*, from being opposed, and we do not see them less happy than they were.

Holy Father and most Reverend Sir, we beg you to forgive our presumption, and to grant us, in a general order to the Clergy, the reasonable indulgence we thus seek, that we may remember you in our prayers and thanksgivings to Almighty God, and that the blessing of them that are ready to perish may come upon you.

We are, Most Reverend Father,
 Though Poor and Ignorant,
 Your Faithful Children.

[Here follow the signatures of 428 persons on behalf of upwards of 1300 children.]

No. II.

Dated at Greaghmarogue, Dec. 29, 1825.

Resolutions of the Masters, &c. connected with the Irish Society, in the Counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Louth, and Meath.

We, the Roman Catholics, Masters, and Scholars, under the IRISH SOCIETY, whose names, with our respective residences, parishes, and post-towns, are hereunto annexed, desire by the following Resolutions to express on behalf of ourselves, and upwards of FIVE THOUSAND of our adult fellow brethren, who in this district alone are in connexion with the Irish Society, our humble, but conscientious and heartfelt sentiments, with respect to that invaluable Institution, and our reading of the Scriptures in our venerated beloved tongue.

1st. RESOLVED—That believing the Sacred Scriptures to be the source of all spiritual knowledge, and the proper basis of all moral instruction, we consider, that the want of them in our native language has been to us and to our forefathers for a long period the greatest evil; and that the Irish Society by their Schools, and providing for us the Scriptures, in the language we best understand, have given to us an estimable gift, and to Ireland the noblest boon she ever before received.

2nd. Resolved—That it is not true the *native Irish* are careless and indifferent towards education—on the contrary they are most *anxious* and *solicitous* for both moral and religious instruction, and in every neighbourhood where obstacles are not opposed, most gladly embrace it for themselves and families. That for a considerable time past, we have observed the good effects of Irish Schools, in removing prejudices, banishing vicious, and encouraging virtuous habits—that in many places we have seen those, who formerly spent part of the Lord's day at foot-balls, dances, card-playing, and whiskey-houses, now resorting to the Irish teacher's house to learn lessons of wisdom from the Book of God.

3rd. Resolved—That objections having been made to reading the Irish Testament from its being an improper translation, we have, individually and collectively, in a very minute and accurate manner with our Irish Dictionaries in our hands, com-

pared it with both the Protestant and Rhemish translations; and find it throughout most agreeing with our own Rhemish version, and to be an accurate Irish translation, with the exception of a few orthographical and typical errors; however, if those condemning it convince us of its errors, and supply us with a better translation, we (as is our duty) will thankfully receive the better one; but until this better one is provided for us, we cannot give up that which the Irish Society have been graciously pleased to provide, especially as we are convinced of its being free from radical errors.

4th. Resolved—That with respect to the objection of our Irish version not having notes or comments, we are humbly of opinion that notes or comments are not essentially necessary for understanding the morality and plain truths of the Gospel; and that Scripture, without note or comment, as given by the inspiration of God, and handed down to us by the Apostles, is sufficient and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. In this, our humble sentiment, we are more fully convinced since we read the testimony of the Right Reverend Dr. Doyle, before the House of Lords on the 21st of March last, wherein he states, that notes and comments are often objectionable, and carry no weight, as the writers of them are frequently unknown. We conceive that if we were to meet with such notes as the Reverend Doctor alludes to, that they would tend to lead us into dangerous errors, and that the Irish Testament, presented to us without note or comment of any kind, is in the least objectionable form, and has no other object in view but to make us acquainted with the divine word.

5th. Resolved—That as by our opponents we are charged with insincerity and hypocrisy in receiving the Irish Scriptures, and to be actuated solely by selfish motives that even should the Society voluntarily or by necessity withdraw from us the salaries which we receive, but supply us with Scriptural and Elementary books, that we will continue to read and teach the oracles of divine truth, in the language of our country and our ancestors, to our numerous fellow-creatures, who are thirsting after such knowledge; and in so doing, we consider ourselves engaged in a work useful to man and acceptable to God; that the Roman Catholic Church of which we are members, hath never by her counsels, nor her spiritual head, denied the Scriptures to those who read them with reverence and sincerity; that on the contrary we find on the best authority, that several of our Popes went further than even the Bible Society to induce the reading of God's word, not only by recommending it, but also by holding out inducements for doing it: thus in a book intitled the *Sacred Diary*, page 136, containing a catalogue of the various indulgences granted by different Popes, we find that Pope John XXII., and many others, his successors, have granted the following indulgences to such as read, teach, or

hear the word of God, "to such as teach the word of God, 100 days' indulgence; to such as hear and listen to the word of God with an inward intention of heart, 100 days' indulgence; to such as do recite the Gospel of St. John, is granted by Pope Clement V. one year's indulgence, and by Pope John XXII. 40 days, which make in all one year and 40 days' indulgence for each time; that when such pious practices were so highly recommended and rewarded at that period by the spiritual heads of our Church as acceptable to our Creator, they cannot now be displeasing to him; and that finally, we consider that the reading of the Holy Scriptures is our right as man, our duty as Christians, and our privilege as Roman Catholics.

Signed by upwards of

490 Roman Catholic Teachers and Scholars.*

Dated the 28th Dec. 1825.

The above resolutions were inserted as advertisement in the Dublin Evening Post the principal organ of the Roman Catholic body, and their publication has drawn from Dr. Curtis, the primate, one of the most ludicrous, intemperate, and blundering fulminations which perhaps the century has produced. It is too long for insertion, but we cannot but invite such as have the opportunity of perusing it to do so with attention, and then to recollect, that it is *the genuine production of the head of the Roman Catholic church of Ireland*. His Grace after alleging against Protestants the charge of deliberate forgery, and proving that the "stupid, paltry, and ill-contrived fabrication is anti-catholic, root and branch," and that "no such complainants exist in any of the counties mentioned," concludes by the following extraordinary address, "And now in bidding adieu to my new correspondents, the remonstrating Schoolmasters, Pupils, and their 5000 Associates, if they be as they call themselves or are called Catholics, I announce to them very seriously, that until they assume a language and sentiments more becoming and worthy of Catholics, I disown them, and declare that they neither are, nor ever shall be acknowledged by me as in my communion.—Signed, P. CURTIS, Archbishop."

Passing over the inconsistency of this strange production, we cannot but notice the tolerant intimation which escapes as it were through the closing sentence of the harrangue. Here it is unequivocally stated, that the declared intention of reading the Scriptures without note or comment is a crime of sufficient magnitude to exclude the delinquents from the pale of the Roman Catholic church, and this too in a case where the remon-

* The signatures may be seen at the office of the Irish Society, No. 16, Sackville Street, Dublin.

strants support the practice by reference to the authority of Popes themselves. Probably His Grace was of opinion that the terrors of an episcopal fulmination would be sufficient to deter these Catholics of straw, from assuming the attributes of living and tangible existence, but it seems he has mistaken his subjects.

The following certificates are worth perusal.

*Affidavits of Thomas M'Kitrick, and Michael Owen, sub-
versive of the foregoing Document.*

Thomas M'Kitrick, of Greaghmarogue, in the County of Monaghan, Roman Catholic, and Teacher under the Irish Society, this day came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and voluntarily maketh oath that the document containing the *Resolutions* of the Irish masters, under the Society for instructing the native Irish, through the medium of their own language, and published in the Evening Post of the 16th of March last, is a genuine document; that it originated with the masters *themselves*, without any Protestant influence, *direct* or *indirect*, *individual* or *collective*, used in getting it up. That it was chiefly planned and formed by me deponent, and in my own hand writing, with 375 signatures, is now lodged with the Committee of the Irish Society;—that several of said signatures were affixed in deponent's presence; and that deponent believes them all to be genuine signatures, voluntarily affixed, without either the *influence*, *knowledge*, or *presence* of *one single Protestant*.

Deponent further saith, that said resolutions were formed from a desire of inducing our bishops to interpose their authority, and prevent us Irish teachers, and our families, being publicly exposed or denied the rights of our church, for reading God's word; and *also* to convince the Society with which we are connected, that our motives in reading and teaching the Irish Scriptures, are *rational*, *pure*, and *entirely consistent*, (in our humble opinions,) with the laws and councils of our Holy Church.

(Signed) THOMAS M'KITRICK.

Sworn before me this 4th day of April, 1826.

(Signed) JOHN FORBES, Chantry.

County of Louth. } Whereas, Michael Owens, Inspector of
to wit. } Irish Schools in the Kingscourt District,
----- } came before me this day, and maketh oath
on the Holy Evangelists, that the Resolutions of the Irish Masters in the Counties of Monaghan, Cavan, Armagh, Louth and Meath, published by them in the Evening Post of 16th March

last, are genuine resolutions of the Irish Masters, in said counties, originating *solely* with themselves, and voluntarily entered into, without *Protestant influence* of any kind.

Deponent further saith, that the 375 names affixed to the original document, now in the possession of the Committee of the Irish Society, are genuine signatures, voluntarily affixed in Deponent's presence, without the influence or solicitation, (and to the best of his belief,) even the knowledge of any Protestant connected with the Irish Society.

(Signed)

MICHAEL OWENS.

Sworn before me, 10th day of April, 1826.

(Signed)

GEORGE FORSTER.

Chief Magistrate of Dundalk.

No. III.

*Extract from the Evidence of Capt. Pringle, page 689,
Appendix.*

With regard to their scriptural instruction, do you think they retain in their memory the portions of scripture they learn quarterly, or whether the portion they learn in one quarter does not tend to put out of their heads what they had learnt in the preceding quarter? It may to a certain extent, but they retain the general impression of the sentiment. Have you ever tried to make a child repeat the portion of the scriptures it had got two or three quarters back? Yes. Have you found they were able to do it? Yes, some of them, and others not. Do you conceive that an impression of the subject may be made on a child without being able to repeat the words? Yes, certainly. Do you think the religious instruction the children acquire make a serious and permanent impression upon them, or is it acquired by rote merely? I think it remains with them when they grow up. I have met with pupils who have been educated in the schools, and I have found it so. Do you think that they learn to understand that the doctrines and commands of scripture are really applicable to their conduct in this life, and influential in their hope of salvation hereafter? Yes, generally speaking, distinctly. Do you think it tends materially to make them more virtuous and respectable individuals? Very much so. I have met with instances myself, and have heard it confirmed from other persons. I received a communication from a clergyman of the name of Armstrong on this subject, of which

the following is an extract. "I was much pleased with the remarks of a boy taught in one of our schools (Hibernian,) near Drumkeerin, in the county of Leitrim, with whom I fell into conversation a few days ago, as I travelled along the road, and as the particulars must afford you pleasure, I shall briefly communicate them. I asked him his age, and he answered sixteen. Did you ever go to school? Yes, sir, to one of the Free Schools near Drumkeerin. What did you learn? The Testament, sir. What does the Testament teach? The way of salvation, sir. What is that way? Jesus Christ is the way, sir. Can any man forgive sins? No, sir. Who can? God, sir. Is the country about you quiet? It is, sir. Is it any sin to break the King's Laws? Yes, sir. How does that appear from the Testament? In reply to this the boy repeated very accurately from memory the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the 2nd chapter of the 1st Epistle of St. Peter. Is drunkenness a crime? Yes, sir, a very great one. Prove this from scripture? The boy here repeated the latter part of the 15th chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. Is it any harm to make Potteen (illicit) whiskey? Yes, it cheats the king to whom custom and tribute are due."

No. IV.

Extract from the answers returned by the Archbishop of Tuam to the queries of the Commissioners.

"I do not regret the opportunity thus afforded, again and again, to declare, until by frequent repetition it almost grows into a proverb, *that it is an education founded upon the Holy Scriptures to which I can give my support and concurrence*; I think I can discover the tendency of these questions, and I sincerely deplore it; in the scriptures only is the standard of eternal truth, and in them is to be found the only adequate corrective for the immorality, superstition, darkness and turbulence which has cursed Ireland since its connection with Great Britain; her population requires the restrictive principles which the sanctions of the Bible can alone produce, the Almighty has given the *whole* as necessary for his responsible creatures, and hath directed us to keep back *nothing*, but to communicate his *whole counsel* to them; and who or what are we, to mutilate and garble the testaments of his word, or to accommodate their sacredness to the paltry passions and prejudices of very mistaken men? I, for one, will not venture, upon a proceeding

so rash and presumptuous; and when I observe what has been effected within the last twenty years, by the pious exertions of the clergy, the resident gentry of Ireland, and the many useful societies, both national and otherwise, to spread the blessings of gospel education; when I observe the benefits produced, not only to the young, but to the adult and aged population, through the medium of such schools; when I know and can testify what a kind reciprocity has been marked out by their means between the elevated and low, and how the children under education, and required to be educated, have established an extension of tenderness and charity in the one, and duty and affection in the other, I would hesitate at the boldness of breaking such a bond of communion—the inevitable consequence, if a system other than scriptural, be forced upon us.

“It is the gospel, and the love of it, which has created and still animates this intercourse and interchange; take away the gospel, and the genial current is checked, and returns frozen and lifeless to the heart.

“To such a system I could not lend myself, nor could I conscientiously require the clergy placed under my controul to do so, and I am still sanguine in hope (notwithstanding the ominous breathing of the questions before me) that the parliament of the united empire, King, Lords, and Commons, will never countenance any measure, however recommended by a specious plausibility (and least of all a compulsory one) in any sort tending to depreciate the *Bible*, either by subtracting from its pages or corrupting its text, spread over as it is with the sacredness and sanctity of the Lord, and incorporated as it is in our own authorized version upon the statute law of the realm.”

THE END.

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